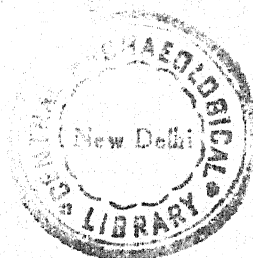


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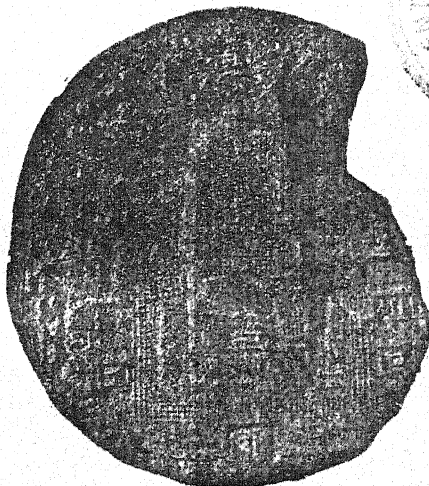
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ALPHABETICAL INDEX TO CONTRIBUTORS.

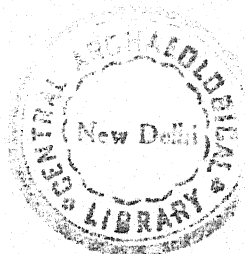
	PAGE
1. Banerji-Sastri, A., M.A., Ph.D. (Oxon.)—	
Vedic Opaśa and Kaparda	1—3
A study of ancient Indian Numismatics by Surendra Kishore Chakraborty, M.A. (<i>Review by</i>) ..	100-101
Mahenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization by Sir John Marshall. (<i>Review by</i>)	235—239
2. Banerji, late Prof. R. D., M.A.—	
Note on the Puri Plate of Dharmarāja	383—385
The Tekkali Plates of Śatrubhañja, V.S. 800	387—390
3. Chatterji, Nandalal, Esq.—	
Mir Qāsim at Patna, 1761	332—352
4. Ganguly, D. C., M.A., Ph.D. (London)—	
The Paramāras of Bhinmal	40—44
5. James, The Hon'ble Justice J. F. W., M.A.—	
The Vice-President—	
The Skirt of Nanda Devi	117—128, 255—271
6. Jayaswal, K. P., M.A. (Oxon.)—	
Giridharpur Pillar Inscription	4—6
Śaka-Sātavāhana Problems	7—16
Chandra-Gupta II (Vikramāditya) and his Predecessor	17—36
The Book on Political Science by Śikhara Prime Minister of Chandra-Gupta II	37—39
Chandra-Gupta Maurya as 'Vir Varshal'	79
A Note on certain Sanskrit Geographical and Ethnic Terms	97-98
The Mahābhārata—Southern Recension—critically edited by P. P. S. Sastri, B.A. (Oxon.). (<i>Review by</i>)	99
Bhārata-Bhūmi aur uske Nivāsi ('India and Her Inhabitants') by Jaya Chandra Vidyālañkāra. (<i>Review by</i>)	99
History of Orissa, from the earliest times to the British Period. By R. D. Banerji, M.A. (<i>Review by</i>)	101—103
The Yaunas of the Purāṇas and the last Kushāna Emperor in India	201—206
A passage in Samudra Gupta's Inscription at Allahabad and Gupta coinage	207—211
The Kākas—their Location	212-213
A Note on 'Tikina' and 'Khasa'	225
Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasad Śāstri, C.I.E. (b. 6th December, 1852—d. 17th November, 1931) ..	226—234
'Danta', a weapon	391

	PAGE
Ghagh aur Bhaddari, edited with translation in Modern Hindi, by Pandit Ramanarēsa Tripathi (Review by)	393
Kavi-rahasya, by Dr. Ganganath Jha. (Review by) ..	393
Arab-aur-Bhārata ke Saṁbandha, translation of an Urdu Book, by Syed Sulaimān Nadbi. (Review by)	393
Social and Economic condition of mediæval India, by Mr. A. A. Yusuf Ali (translated in Hindi). (Review by)	394
Madhya-Kālina Bhāratiya Saṁskṛiti, by MM. Gauri Saṅkara Hirā Chand Ojhā. (Review by) ..	394
Veli Krishna-Rukamaṇi-rī, by Prathirāja Rāthaur, translated in Modern Hindi, by Maharajah Jagmangal Singh, with a commentary. (Review by)	394
Rock-cut Temples around Bombay, by Mr. Kanhaiya Lal H. Vakil, B.A., LL.B., Published by Taraporewala, Sons & Co. (Review by) ..	395
Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1930 (Kern Institute, Leyden). (Review by) ..	395
The Mahābhārata Text, Fasc. 6, edited by Dr. V. S. Sukhthankar, Bhandarkar Institute, Poona. (Review by)	396
Rise of the Christian Power in India, 2nd edition, by the late Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S., published by Mr. R. Chatterji, Calcutta. (Review by) ..	396
Jainism in North India, by Chiman Lal J. Shah, M.A., published by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. (Review by)	397
The Pallava Genealogy, by Rev. H. Heras, S.J., Bombay, Indian Historical Institute. (Review by)	398
7. Kuraishi, M. Hamid, B.A.— A note on 'Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna' ..	45—50
8. Patnaik, Sudhakar, B.A.— An Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur District ..	214—221
9. Ramadas, G., B.A.— Note on Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur District ..	222—224
Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Kāvārṇadeva, dated 526 Ganga Era ..	272—295
10. Roy, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.— Report of Anthropological Work in 1930-31: Chōtā-Nāgpur, the Chūṭiyās and the Bhūiyās ..	51—78
The Study of Folk-lore and Tradition in India ..	353—381
11. Sarkar, Sir Jadunath, Kt.— A Correct Chronology of the Delhi History, 1739-1754	80—96
12. Tripathi, Dr. Rama Shankar, M.A., Ph.D. (London)— On the Extent of Harṣa's Empire	296—331

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ALPHABETICAL INDEX TO ARTICLES.

	PAGE
Anthropological Work in 1930-31, Report of : Chōtā-Nāgpur, the Chūtiyās and the Bhūiyās. By <i>Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.</i>	51—78
Chandra-Gupta II (Vikramāditya) and his Predecessor. By <i>K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)</i>	17—36
✓ Chandra-Gupta Maurya as 'Vīr Varshal'. By <i>K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)</i>	79
Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Kāvārṇadeva, dated 526 Ganga Era. By <i>G. Ramadas, B.A.</i> ..	272—295
Correct Chronology of the Delhi History, 1739-1754. By <i>Sir Jadunath Sirkar, Kt.</i>	80—96
'Danta', a weapon. By <i>K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)</i> ..	391
Folk-lore and Tradition in India, the Study of. By <i>Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.</i> ..	353—381
Giridharpur Pillar Inscription. By <i>K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)</i>	4—6
Haraprashad Shastri, Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr., C.I.E. (b. 6th December, 1852—d. 17th November, 1931). By <i>K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)</i>	226—234
Harsa's Empire, on the extent of. By <i>Dr. Rama Shankar Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D. (London)</i>	296—331
Kākas—their Location. By <i>K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)</i> ..	212-213
✓ Mimāṃsā-Śāstra-Sarvasva. By <i>Halāyudha, Edited by Umesa Misra</i>	129—200
Mir Qāsim at Patna, 1761. By <i>Nandalal Chatterji, Lecturer in Indian History, University of Lucknow</i>	332—352
Nanda Devi, the Skirts of. By the Hon'ble <i>Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., the Vice-President</i> ..	117—128, 255—271
Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna, a note on. By <i>M. Hamid Kuraishi, Esq., B.A.</i>	45—50
Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur District. By <i>Sudhakar Patnaik, B.A.</i>	214—221
Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur District, a note on. By <i>G. Ramadas, B.A.</i>	222—224
Paramāras, the, of Bhinmal. By <i>D. C. Ganguly, M.A., Ph.D. (London)</i>	40—44
Political Science by Śikhara Prime Minister of Chandra-Gupta II, the Book on. By <i>K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)</i>	37—39
Puri Plates of Dharmarāja, Note on. By the late <i>Prof. R. D. Banerji, M.A.</i>	383—385
Śaka-Śātavāhana Problems. By <i>K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)</i>	7—16
Samudra Gupta's Inscription at Allahabad and Gupta Coinage, a Passage in. By <i>K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)</i> ..	207—211

	PAGE
Sanskrit Geographical and Ethnic Terms, a note on certain. By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)	97-98
Tekkali Plates of Śatrubhañja—V.S. 800. By the late Prof. R. D. Banerji, M.A.	387—390
‘Tikina’ and ‘Khasa’, a note on. By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)	225
Vedic Opaśa and Kaparda. By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.)	1—3
Yaunas of the Purāṇas and the Last Kushāṇa Emperor in India. By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)	201—206

INDEX TO PLATES.

Vedic Opaśa and Kaparda—One plate. Between pages 2-3.

Giridharpur Pillar Inscription of the year 28th Huvishka's reign—One plate. Between pages 6-7.

Inscription on Pathar-ki-masjid at Patna—One plate. Between pages 50-51.

Skirts of Nanda Devi—Four plates and One map. Between pages 128-129.

An Oriya Copperplate of Sambalpur District—One plate. Between pages 220-221.

Skirts of Nanda Devi—One plate. Facing page 255. Two plates. Between pages 262-263. One plate. Facing page 265. One plate. Facing page 268. One plate. Facing page 270.

Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Kāvārṇadeva, dated 526 Ganga Era—Four plates. Between pages 294-295.

The Tekkali Plates of Śatrubhañja—Four plates. Between pages 390-391.

LIST OF PLATES.

Vedic Opaśa and Kaparda.

Giridharpur Pillar Inscription of the year 28th Huvishka's reign.

Inscription on Pathar-kī-masjid at Patna.

Skirts of Nanda Devi.

An Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur District.

Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Kāvārṇṇa-deva, dated 526 Ganga Era.

The Tekkali Plates of Śatrubhañja.

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CONTENTS.

Leading Articles.

	PAGES
I. Vedic Opaśa and Kaparda <i>By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.).</i>	1-3
II. Girdharpur Pillar Inscription <i>By K. P. Jayaswal.</i>	4-6
III. Śaka-Sātavāhana Problems <i>By K. P. Jayaswal.</i>	7-16
IV. Chandra-Gupta II (Vikramāditya) and his Predecessor <i>By K. P. Jayaswal.</i>	17-36
V. The Book on Political Science by Śikhara, Prime Minister of Chandra-Gupta II .. <i>By K. P. Jayaswal.</i>	37-39
VI. The Paramāras of Bhinmal <i>By D. C. Ganguly, M.A., Ph.D. (London).</i>	40-44
VII. A Note on ' Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna ' .. <i>By M. Hamid Kuraishi, Esq., B.A., Archæo- logical Survey of India.</i>	45-50
VIII. Report of Anthropological Work in 1930-31 : Chōtā-Nāgpur, the Chūtiyās and the Bhūiyās <i>By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.</i>	51-78

<i>Miscellaneous Contributions.</i>		PAGES
I. Chandra-Gupta Maurya as 'Vir Varshal' .. <i>By K. P. Jayaswal.</i>		79
II. A Correct Chronology of the Delhi History, 1739-1754		80-96
<i>By Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt.</i>		
III. A Note on certain Sanskrit Geographical and Ethnic Terms		97-98
<i>By K. P. Jayaswal.</i>		
<i>Reviews and Notices of Books.</i>		
I. The Mahābhārata—Southern Recension— critically edited by P. P. S. Sastri, B.A. (Oxon.)		99
<i>By K. P. Jayaswal.</i>		
II. Bhārata-Bhūmi aur uske Nivāsī ('India and Her Inhabitants') by Jayachandra Vidyā- lankāra		99
<i>By K. P. Jayaswal.</i>		
III. A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics. By Surendra Kishor Chakraborty, M.A. ..		100-101
<i>By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil.</i> (Oxon.).		
IV. History of Orissa. From the earliest times to the British Period. By R. D. Banerji, M.A.		101-103
<i>By K. P. Jayaswal.</i>		
<i>Notes of the Quarter.</i>		
Proceedings of meetings of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held on December 6th, 1931, and March 6th, 1932		104-107
Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting held on the 17th March, 1932		108-109
Annual Report for 1931-32		110-112
Statement of Accounts from April, 1931, to February, 1932		113-114
Transliteration of the Devanagari into Roman Alphabets		115

JOURNAL

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VOL. XVIII.]

1932.

[PART I.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—Vedic Opaśa and Kaparda.

By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.).

Ṛgveda X. 85, 8; and X. 114, 3 refer to *Opaśa* and *Kaparda*, as types of head-dresses, specially for females. The goddesses Sinīvālī is described as *svaupaśā* in Tait. Sam. iv. 1, 5, 3; Maitr. Sam. ii. 7, 5; Vāj. Sam. xi. 56 :—

Sinīvālī sukapardā sukurīrā saupaśā (iv. i, 5, 3 Tait. Sam.) Av. ix. 3, 8 (under *akṣu*) and Rv. x. 173, 6; viii. 14, 5; and ix. 71, 1 also refer to *opaśa*. It continues in later literature in Tāṇḍ. Br. iv. 1, 1; and xiii, 4, 3.

The generally accepted sense is 'having ornamental plaits or braids of hair', either genuine¹ or false,² mostly worn by women³ but sometimes by men also.⁴

Kaparda also refers to the same Vedic custom of wearing the hair in braids or plaits. In the passage quoted above the goddesses Sinīvālī is described as *sukapardā*, 'wearing beautiful braids'. The maiden's fastidiousness for her braids are referred to in Rv. x. 114, 3 *catuṣ-kapardā*, 'arranged in four plaits'. Men showed their appreciation by imitation, e.g., Rudra (Rv. i. 114, 1, 5; Vāj. Sam. xvi. 10, 29, 43, 48, 59), and

¹ Macdonell & Keith, *Ved. Index*, vol. i, p. 135.

² Zimmer, *Alt. Leb.*, p. 264.

³ Av. vi. 138, 1, 2.

⁴ Rv. i. 173, 6.

Pūṣan (Rv. vi. 55, 2; ix. 67, 11). Mortals followed; the Vasiṣṭhas wore their plait on the right, *daṁṣṇinatas-kaparda* (Rv. vii. 33, 1). Lesser men affect it still, only modestly modified in its passage from classical sages to vernacular sadhus.

Kumba (Av. vi. 138, 3), and *Kurīra* (Rv. x. 85, 8; Av. vi. 138, 3; cf. the description of Sinivālī above as *su-kurīrā*) are other methods of doing the hair.¹

As might have been expected, subjective interpretation without any objective archæological evidence, strayed from the matter-of-fact into the region of fancy. Geldner² would have it as 'horn', later a head-gear; hardly an ornament that! Indian tradition³ firmly held to the head-dress, 'a female adornment connected with the dressing of the hair'.

As often happens, Indian tradition is once more borne out by archæological discoveries, this time in the remains of a pre-historic civilization in the Gangetic valley, at Buxar.⁴

The accompanying plate reproduces only some of the terra-cotta head-dresses excavated by the present writer at Buxar, in 1926 and 1927. They are now in the Patna Museum. While their exact date as well as the date of the remains of the Indus valley, and of the Ṛgveda itself, are still subjects of further study, these Buxar finds are beyond doubt the nearest available material for comparison with the Vedic description noted above.

The Vedic passages have been variously interpreted as—Geldner:⁵ 'horn-shaped head-ornament, or diadem'; Caland⁶: 'helmet-shaped', etc.

The Indian commentators are impressed by their extraordinary (*asādhāraṇam*) prettiness, and often try to describe the details.

The Buxar head-dresses are very elaborate. Two kinds, either of attached stamped rosettes or developed into two high smooth horns like volutes are specially noteworthy.

¹ Plain hair was termed *pulasti*, Vāj. Sam. xvi. 43.

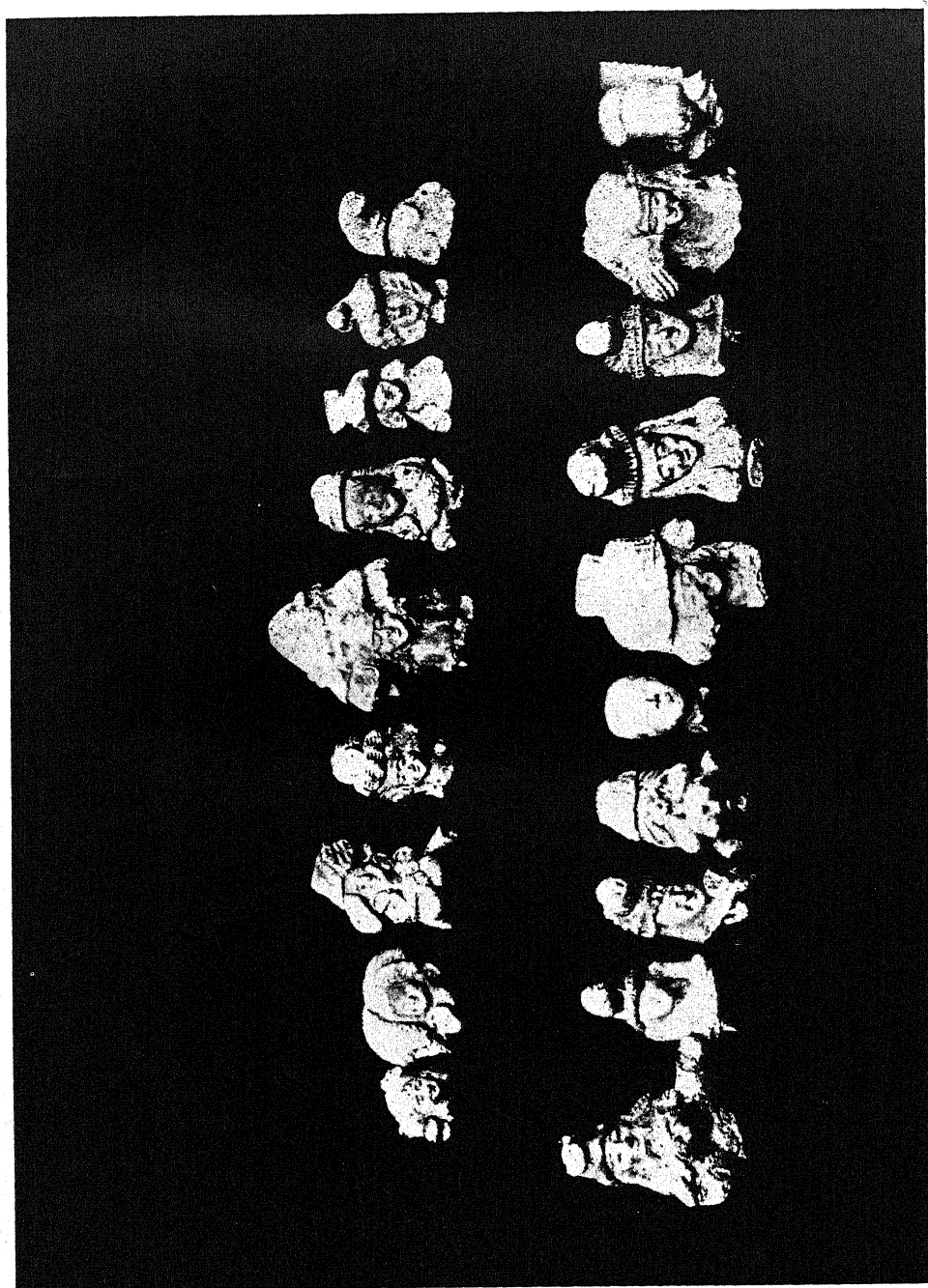
² Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, 1, 131-32.

³ Śaṅkara on Av. vi. 138, 3. *kurīraṁ keśajālaṁ kumbaṁ tadābharāṇam cha strīṇāṁ asādhāraṇam*.

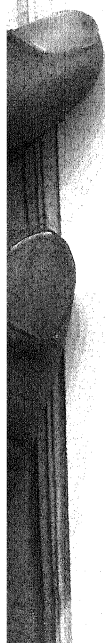
⁴ *J. Bomb. Hist. S.*, III, pp. 187-91.

⁵ *Ved. Stud.*, 1, 130-37.

⁶ Ap. Śraut., 10. 9. 5.



Vedic Opasa and Kaparda.



A closer study of this ample material may identify many of the features that struck the Vedic seers as *asādhāraṇa*, i.e., 'extraordinary'. It would incidentally raise and perhaps to a certain extent elucidate the question of the identity of the wearers.

II.—Girdharpur Pillar Inscription.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

This record is of King Huvishka's reign. It is dated in Kanishka's era, year 28th. Huvishka's predecessor Vāseshka ruled, according to the inscriptions already known to us, upto a part of the 28th year. This is thus a document of Huvishka's first year. The inscription which has not been published before I am reproducing here. This is the first record we know that gives the coin-name *purāṇa* which we know from the Mānava dharma Śāstra (J.B.O.R.S., XVII, 398). It was brought to light in the following manner. Last October when I was going over the Curzon Museum (Muttra), its curator Mr. Vasudeva Agrawala pointed out the pillar to me and showed me his reading of the inscription. I suggested to him to trace the history of the find. Mr. Agrawala has since ascertained its history and communicated it to me which I give below. The date, which I read on the stone, the mention of the *purāṇa* and of the official title *Tikina* which occurs as *Tikina* in the Nālandā plate recently edited and published by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, E.I., (Vol. XX, p. 37), invest the document with importance.

I thank Mr. Agrawala for the impression and the description which I quote below.

"The pillar originated from a well called *Lāl Kuṁwā* situated in a field lying between the Chaurāsi Jain temple and the Girdharpur Mound in the Mathurā district. The well is 200 yards due south of the Gobardhan Road, opposite the Chaurāsi Jain temple. It is said that it was extracted from the well eight or nine years ago and was lying on the surface from that time till its deposit in the Mathurā Museum through the efforts of the late Rai Bahadur Pandit Radhakrishna.

"The dimensions are :—Height 6'-9", breadth 11'-8" at base and 11'-5" at a height of 2'-7" from the base; upto that height the pillar is square and beyond that it is octagonal, and thickness 9 inches. There is a groove, 6 inches broad and 4 inches deep, running from top to bottom on the reverse of the inscribed

facing. The pillar which is of red sand-stone common at Mathurā is in a fair state of preservation except the upper portion which is broken and lost."

The script is Brāhmī of the Kushāṇa period and the engraving of letters is perfect. The entire inscription is a model of excellent paleographic art of the period. "It is perfectly preserved except for a small chipping off, $2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$ in the beginning of the last two lines. The characters vary in size from $\frac{1}{2}''$ to $1''$." They resemble very much the characters on the pedestal of the Vema Takshama statue of the Mathurā Museum (J.B.O.R.S., VI, p. 11).

In the opinion of Mr. Agrawala, the present inscription and the lettering on the pedestal of the seated Buddha No. A 1 of the Museum, are the best specimens of Kushāṇa Brāhmī preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The writing covers a space of $14\cdot5''$ by $11\cdot5''$.

The inscription records a perpetual gift (*ākshaya-nivi dinna*) for the benefit (*puṇya*) of *Devaputra Shāhi* (king) *Huvishka* and those dear to him and the whole land. It was evidently inscribed at the *Puṇyāsālā* (Charitable Pavilion) which it mentions. 550 and 550 (1,100) purāṇas were deposited with two guilds, and from the monthly interest (*vriddhi*) of the funds daily alms (like modern *sadābart*) were to be given in the form of *sattu* (saktu), salt and similar eatables, placed at the door of the *Puṇyāsālā*, to the helpless (*anāḍhanām*), hungry and thirsty; and once a month (on the 14th Bright day of the month) one hundred Brahmins were also to be fed.

The value of the purāṇa was sufficiently high to give an income to feed hundred Brahmins every month and to maintain a place to give water and a little *sattu* to the poor passing by throughout the year. It is noteworthy that this gift is in favour of Brahmins and the general public, and is not a Buddhist endowment.

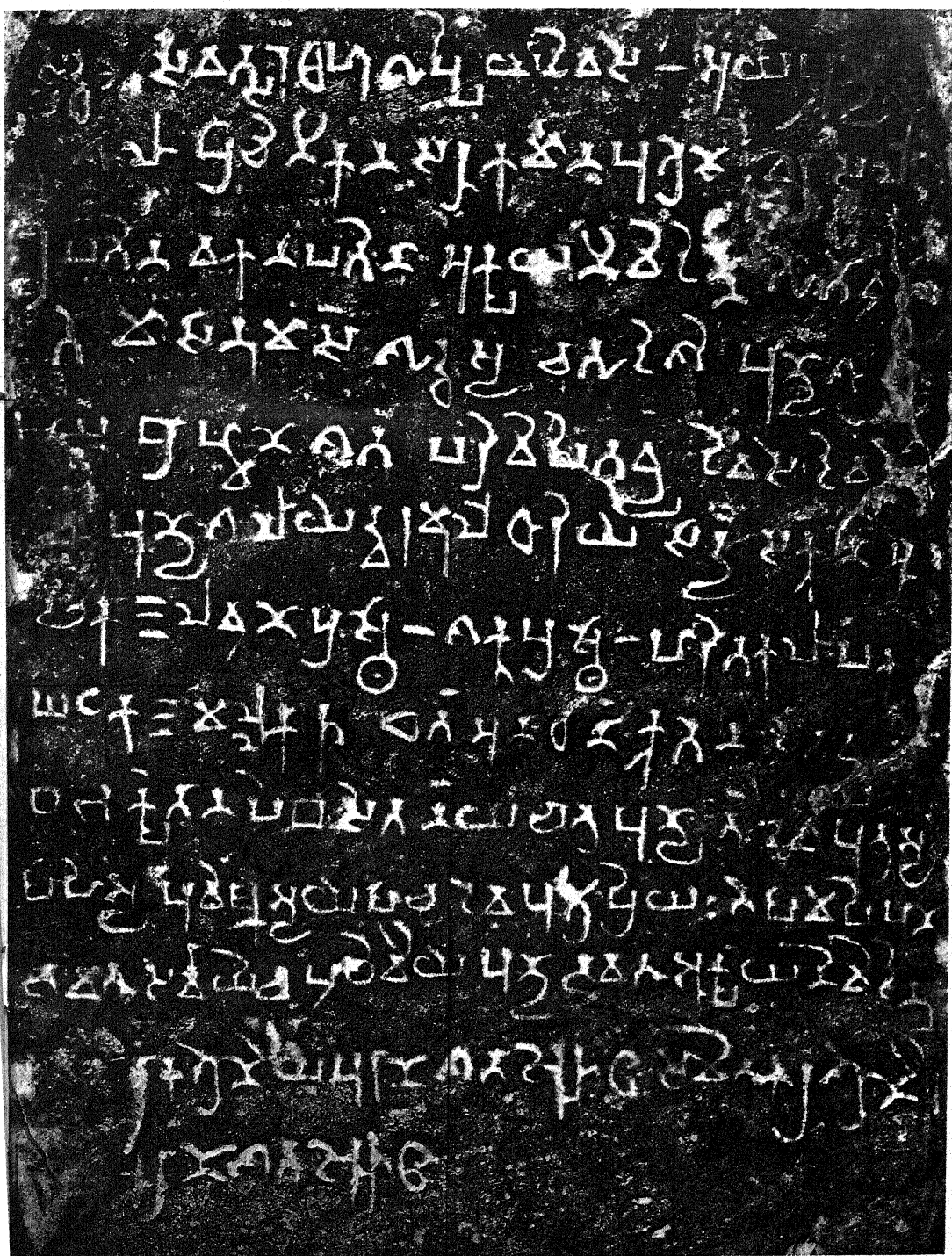
The officer signing and executing the gift was a nobleman, *Tikana Prāchi*, who was son of *Rukamāna*. *Tikana* is a Turki title denoting a 'prince of the blood' (E. I., Vol. XX, p. 41 where it is spelt as *Tikina*). The officer bears the description '*Vakana-pati*' which is also found affixed (as *Barkana-pati*) to the

name of the officer mentioned on the statue of Vema or Vama (J.B.O.R.S., VI, p. 12). The officer (evidently the Governor of Mathurā) is also called *Kharāsalera-pati*. It seems that the *Punyaśālā* (which was like a modern *Dharmaśālā*) was erected by *Prāchi-Tikana* (*ayam punyaśālā Prāchi-Tikanasya*). It was endowed for maintenance, in the name of his Sovereign, in the first year of his reign, evidently marking his accession after the fashion of Hindu Kings.

I give below Mr. Agrawala's reading of the text who has had the advantage of consulting the stone.

TEXT

- Line 1 सिद्धं ३ संवत्सरे २० ८ गुरुपुत्रिय दिवसे १ अयं पुण्य
1. 2 शाला प्राचितौकनस रुक्मानपुत्रेण खरासले
1. 3 र पतिन वकनपतिना अक्षयनीवि दिन्न गुतो वृद्धे
1. 4 तो मासानुमासं शुद्धस्य चातुदिशे पुण्यशाला
1. 5 यं ब्राह्मणशतं परिविधितयं दिवसे दिवसे
1. 6 च पुण्यशालाये द्वारमूले द्वारिषे साद्यं सक्तानां आ
1. 7 ठका ३ लवण प्रस्था १ शक् प्रस्था १ ह्रितकलापक
1. 8 घटक ३ मल्लक ५ एतं अनाघनां कृतेन दत्त
1. 9 बभक्षितान पिबसितानं य च तु पुण्य तं देवपुत्रस्य
1. 10 षाहिस्य ऊविष्कस्य येषा च देवपुत्रो प्रियः तेषामपि पुण्य
1. 11 भवतु सर्वायि च पृथिवीये पुण्य भवतु आक्षयनिवि दिन्न
1. 12 ... क श्रेणीये पुराणशत ५०० ५० समितकर श्रेणी
1. 13 ... पुराणशत ५०० ५०



Girdharpur Pillar inscription of the year 28th, Huvishka's reign.

J. B. O. R. S., 1932.

III.—Śaka-Sātavāhana Problems.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

On the publications of my paper '*Problems of Śaka-Sātavāhana History*' (J.B.O.R.S., XVI. 227 ff.) some gentlemen have written to me asking for my view on the identification of the *Sandanes* and *Mambarus* of the Periplus (§ 52, § 41). I submit below my own opinion for consideration by scholars.

(i) *Sandanes*.

This name has been identified with *Sundara* (Śātakarṇi) (Sātavāhana) of the Purāṇas. To me it appears to represent *Sunandana* of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The Prakrit form *Sunadana* seems to be *Sandanes*. Other Purāṇas give *Sundara* in its place, which might have been another name of the same king. I would give preference to the form as found in the Bhāgavata. A manuscript of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* from Orissa which I have consulted gives the form *Sunanda*.

Writing about the port Kalyāṇa (near Bombay) the author of the Periplus says that this city of Saraganus became in the time of the elder Saraganus a lawful market town,

'but since it came into the possession of Sandanes the port is much obstructed and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard'.—(*Schoff's translation*).

Saraganus is, as already pointed by scholars, *Śātakarṇi*. The form is derived from *Sādakarna*. It is evident that before the time of the author of the Periplus there had been at least two Śātakarṇis—'the elder' Śātakarṇi and the later Śātakarṇi, that both these sovereigns had passed away before the Periplus was written, and that the present king or the recent king was Sandanes. These were kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha or *Dachinabades* in the language of the Periplus. ('Beyond Barygaza the adjoining coast extends in a straight line from north to south and so this region is called *Dachinabades*' (€ 50). It may be noticed in passing that the Periplus is using all Prakrit forms

(*Barygaza* = *Bharu-kachcha*, not *Bhrigu-kachcha*; *Dachinabades* = *Dachhināvadha* for ° *patha*).

Mr. Schoff considers the date of the *Periplus* to be about 80 A.D. (Letter to V. Smith, *Early History*, 4th ed., p. 245 n.). The date worked out on the basis of my chronology for Sundara or Sunandana comes to be 83-84 A.D. (J.B.O.R.S., XVI. 279) which agrees with the date proposed by Schoff and also by McCrindle (80-89 A.D.). The *Purāṇas* give only one year to Sunandana-Sundara, which narrows down the time for the date of the *Periplus* data; had there been a longer period of the reign (we get no coin of this king) we would have had a larger margin for uncertainty.

Now the reference in the *Periplus* does not show (as supposed by some scholars) that a rival of Sandanes was interfering with Greek shipping in the matter of discharging goods at Kalyāṇa. On the contrary the emphasis being on the fact that the port having been declared a 'lawful' landing place since the time of the elder Sātakarṇi, the complaint seems to be that Sandanes was unjustly closing it to the Greeks by his officers' occasional diversion of the ships to the other port, evidently his own, viz., Barygaza. The interpretation put on this—as an obstruction by an enemy—seems to be unjustifiable on the text. The elder Sātakarṇi was evidently Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi who had conquered Nahapāna and obtained the coast from Bombay to Kathiawad, in or about 58 B.C. The later Saraganus would be Kuntala or Vishamaśīla Sātakarṇi, the conqueror of the Śakas and the predecessor of Sunandana. The author of the *Periplus* must be talking of only recent history, that is, the history of the port just preceding Sunandana's time. In this connexion it is noteworthy that Ujjain is noted in the *Periplus* (§ 48) to have been formerly the royal capital. This agrees with the known fact that the Kuntala Sātakarṇi or Vikramāditya (II) had fixed his capital at Ujjain.

(ii) *Mambarus*.

This name has been changed ('corrected') into *Nambarus* by some scholars and then it has been interpreted as *Nahapāna*. But *Mambarus* can hardly be *Nahapāna* and subsequent

scholars have rightly challenged the interpretation. The Periplus (€ 41) says that from *Ariaca* (the Aryan land) the kingdom of Mambarus commenced. It is noteworthy that according to the Periplus (€ 50) Dakṣiṇāpatha ran down (south) from Barygaza. Both Bharoach and Kalyāṇa thus evidently belonged to the same kingdom.

The only known king whose name can be reconciled with *Mambarus* is *Mahendra*¹ Sātavāhana. He came just before Kuntala Śātakarni whose date I have calculated to be 75 A.D. to 83 A.D., i.e., about 8 years before Sunandana-Sundara (J.B.O.R.S., XVI. 279). The author of the Periplus seems to have heard that the kingdom founded by Mahendra (d. 75 A.D.) extended up to Kathiawad and Gujarat. *Ariake* is supposed to represent *Larika* (Lāṭa) of Ptolemy, but Ptolemy also uses *Ariake* though in his time it commenced lower down, Gujarat then being under the Śakas. *Ariaka* evidently means the country under the Hindus (Aryans) as opposed to Sindh which was occupied at the date of the Periplus by the Śakas. *Ariaka* may be compared with the 'Āryavarta' of Alberuni (see below). 'All India' began there according to the Periplus, that is, Āryāvarta began there.

(iii) *The Battle of 78 A.D.*

The battle which is dated in 78 A.D. by the Hindus and which ended in the defeat of the Śakas by Vishama-Śīla Vikramāditya or Vikramāditya II was supposed by me to have been fought in Gujarat on the data of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (J.B.O.R.S., XVI. 299). In this connexion, I had missed a very important authority which supplies the name of the battle-field and fully confirms the conclusion put forward by me about this battle of 78 A.D., and on the identification of this second Vikramāditya with the Sātavāhana king, and the causes of the war. Alberuni (II. 6) writing about the Śaka era says :

¹ This will require corruption of the spelling of one letter only. In Greek MSS. of the first century A.D. *Maendara* could easily be misread as *Mambara*. [I have consulted Father Heras who confirms this.]

'The epoch of the era of Śaka or Śaka-kāla falls 135 years later than that of Vikramāditya. The here-mentioned Śaka tyrannised over their country between the river Sindh and the ocean, after he had made Āryāvarta in the midst of this realm his dwelling place. He interdicted the Hindus from considering and representing themselves as anything but Śakas. Some maintain that he was a Śūdra from the city Al Mansura; others maintain that he was not a Hindu at all, and that he had come to India from the west. The Hindus had much to suffer from him, till at last they received help from the east, when Vikramāditya marched against him, put him to flight and killed him in the region of Karūr, between Multan and the castle of Loni. Now this date became famous, as people rejoiced in the news of the death of the tyrant, and was used as the epoch of an era, especially by the astronomers. They honour the conqueror by adding Śrī to his name, so as to say Śrī Vikramāditya. Since there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikramāditya and the killing of Śaka, we think that Vikramāditya from whom the era has got its name is not identical with that one who killed Śaka, but only a namesake of his.'

Here it is evident that Alberuni is treating of the Śaka-Śālivāhana era of 78 A.D. and the Śālivāhana king is referred to as Vikramāditya II. The battle-field was at Karūr (Karor or Karorh, 20 miles north-east of Bahawalpur). The Śaka tyranny was described as it is described in the Kathāsaritsāgara. Al Mansura of Alberuni was a town in Sindh¹; here evidently the Śakas had settled. Alberuni rightly distinguishes this Vikramāditya of 78 A.D. from the Vikramāditya of 58 B.C., i.e., Vikramāditya I.

Is there any material from which we can find the name of the Śaka king defeated and killed by Śālivāhana (the Śātavāhana king)?

Sir Kap and Amba Kapi Tradition.

General Cunningham has recorded the tradition current all over the Punjab about *Rājā Sir Kap* (ASR; ii, 152-156; AG., p. 139). The tradition is still current. The version which I have heard only differs in that *Sir Kapa* or *Sir Kap* and his brothers were destroyed by *Śālivāhana*, while Cunningham heard that the deliverer was *Rāsālu* (*Rusālu* in the version supplied to Col. Abbot), son of King *Śālivāhana*. Col. Abbot has recorded the ballad of *Rusālu* (JASB, 1854, p. 123). The tradition may be summarised as follows:

¹ Elliot, i (*passim*).

Sir Kap—who is associated with a site *Ambā-Kapi* near Lahor as his residence was a great tyrant. *Sir Kap* with his six brothers and sisters (according to one version, demons, *Rakshasas*, according to another, human beings) lived at Manikpur (Manikyālā) Udinagar or *Ambā Kapi*—was decapitating the people. *Śālivāhana* or his son *Rājā Rāsālu* or *Rusālu* destroyed them and ‘delivered the people from the tyranny of *Sir Kap*’. The brothers were *Sir Kap*, *Sir Sukh* and *Amba*, while the sisters were *Kāpi Kalpi*, *Munda*, *Mandehi*.

The tradition means that between the Indus and the Jhelam *Sir Kap* and his brothers were established as rulers and they were great tyrants. *Sir Kap* is no other than *Siri Kapa* or *Kadphises* and *Amba* represents *W’ima* or *Wama*; the titles have been converted into ‘Sisters’—*Kāpi*, *Kalpi* (=Kadphises), *Munda* (=Murunda). *Sir Sukh*, the brother of *W’ima* might be the uncle of *Jihonika* whose name we have not yet got from inscriptions or coins. The legend refers to the generation of *W’ima Kadphises*. Archæologists have already pointed out that after *W’ima Kadphises* there was a break-up of the *Kushāna* empire, just before *Kanishka*, in the time of *Jihonika*’s father or uncle (Konow, *Kh. I.*, p. 82). It seems that the war of *Śālivāhana* which according to *Alberuni* was fought in the Punjab at *Karhor*, was in the last days of *W’ima* or the first year of one of his brothers whose rule ended in the very year owing to his death on the battle-field. The defeat was not the defeat of *Kanishka* but of his immediate predecessor. *Kanishka* seems to have changed his policy and started his first year as a pious Buddhist, and a law-abiding, kind king, following the example of the Buddhist *Asoka*, and this policy would have reconciled the Punjab to him.

It may be noted that *Rusālu* means ‘*Bad Tempered*’ which is a translation of *Vishama-śīla*. In any case the indication is certain in the express dynastic title *Śālivāhana*, which fixes the identity with the *Śālavāhana Vikramāditya* (II) of *Alberuni*.

In the result, the tradition of the astronomers, the tradition current in the time of *Alberuni*, the tradition current in the Punjab to-day, the data of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the known history supplied by spade and inscriptions—all indicate that

there was a disruption of the Kushāṇa power at or towards the end of the reign of Wīma Kadphises. The tradition of the defeat of the Śakas at 78 A.D., by a Śālivāhana (=Sātavāhana) king is rigidly historical. The tyranny of the early Kushāṇas which passed into folk-lore was real, and there was most likely a national rising, though the help and leadership came from the 'east' in the person of 'Rusālu' Śālivāhana Vikramāditya. Except the Sātavāhana power there was none else in the east, i.e., in inner India at the time capable of that feat of deliverance.

In the next thirty years the Kushāṇa empire under Kanishka and Vāseshka was re-established, though this time on a different moral basis. About a century later (250 A.D.) a number of strong Hindu dynasties arose again, but the final extinction of the Śakas was left for Chandragupta II to achieve, who after his success called himself 'Vikramāditya', and for a third time the title was assumed to commemorate a national victory over the Śakas.

(iv) *An Arab authority on the cessation of Kadphises' rule.*

For future reference, it is desirable to record another version of the destruction of the rule of the Kadphises, as it is confirmed by an Arab source which is in its turn based on an unknown Sanskrit work.

Mr. Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra whose home is near Karorh (करौड़), the Karūr of Alberuni, in the Montgomery District of the Punjab, writes to me that the version of the tradition as given to him by an old villager is that Śālavāhana defeated Rājā Sir-Kap Risālū (the latter being the proper-name). According to this version the Sir Kap king defeated was Risalu, not that the Śālavāhana King's name was Risālū-Rāsālū, or Rusālū. I would have dismissed this version, had it not been for the fact that it is supported by an Arab source which is earlier than Alberuni.

An author who wrote a 'chronological abridgment of universal history' up to the sixth Hijri Century under the name 'Mujmal-ut Tawārikh' between the years 1126 and 1193 A.D. during the reign of Sanjar, Sultan of Saljukis, came across a dated Persian manuscript (1026 A.D.) in the handwriting of its Persian author. The name of the latter was Abul Hasan 'Ali,

keeper of a library at Jurjān. Abul Hasan 'Ali's manuscript was a Persian translation of a work of an Arab, *Abū Sālih bin Shu'aib*, who had translated it into Arabic from Sanskrit ('from the *Hinduvānī* language'). The book, thus, though through two translations done before 417 A.H. (1026 A.D.), was 'an ancient book of the Hindus'. The book also contained certain dialogues as in the *Pañchatantra*. The Muhammadan author in his *Mujmal* quoted a few extracts on 'the origin of the kings and a short history of them' bearing on Sindh. These extracts have been translated into English in Elliot's *History of India*, vol. I, pp. 103-113 and are placed as the first piece amongst the '*Historians of Sind*' (p. 100). Evidently the original Arab translator had before him some historical sketch in Sanskrit on the history of Sindh, and the materials may go back to the period of the time of the first Muhammadan invasion of Sindh. The Persian translation is literal of the Arabic original (Elliot, I, p. 102). According to the original authority the history of Sindh is divided in these periods:

- (i) under the *Bhārata* dynasty;
- (ii) under the *Sunāgh*, i.e., Śisunāga dynasty, and the Persian rule;
- (iii) under *Hāl*, i.e., Sātavāhana dynasty and *Kafand*, i.e., Kadphises, and his son *Ayand* (Uvam);
- (iv) under Vikramāditya (Gupta).

(i) *Rule of Jayadratha's Queen in Sindh.*

In Sindh the Jats and Meds occupied the opposite sides of the Indus; the Meds having been conquered by the Jats and having been driven to the opposite bank, the two tribes approached Duryodhana (*Dajūshan*) 'son of *Dahrāt*' to appoint a king. 'The Emperor *Dajūshan*' nominated his sister *Duśśalā* ('*Dassāl*'), wife of King *Jandrāt* (Jayadratha).¹ ('The original work gives a long description of the country, its rivers and wonders and mentions the foundation of cities'.)

Different kings were appointed by the lady for the Jats and the Meds. The rule lasted over a number of years 'after which *Bhārats* lost possession of the country'.

¹ In *Jandrāt*, *y* has been read *n*, an easy misreading in Persian.

‘Injustice was the cause of the fall of the Pāṇḍavas’. They had taken a cow of a Brahmin whose son captured *Haṭnā* city,¹ their capital, and he is said to have reduced the Pāṇḍavas to the position of a musician caste, ‘but God knows’.

(ii) *Sunagh (Śiśunāka) Dynasty and the Persian Invasion of India.*

A Brahmin named *Fasaf* crowned his servant *Sunāgh* on the throne who practised justice. His dynasty had 15 sovereigns. The latter were tyrants and were contemporary of the Persian king *Gustāsf* (i.e., Darius’ father *Hystaspes*). *Bahman* (i.e., Darius) in *Gustāsf*’s lifetime led an army into India and occupied a portion of it, while numerous kingdoms were set up (by Indians) against the dynasty of *Sunāgh*. *Bahman* returned to Persia on the report of *Gustāsf*’s death and assumed the crown. [The author notes here that this Indian account of the Persian bit of history he did not find elsewhere.]

(iii) *Hāl (i.e., Hāla Sātavāhana).*

‘It is said that *Hāl* was the descendant of *Sanjwāra*, son of *Jandrāt*.’ *Hāl* inherited in his empire the dominions of *Jandrāt* and *Dassāl* and their descendants. ‘*Hāl* became a very important person and built a fine capital and several cities.’

Kashmirian rule in Sindh.

His country exported fine cloth with the stamp of the royal foot-print which led to a war with the king of Kashmir. The king of Kashmir returned to his country. The latter was a builder of temples and superb cities. Sindh evidently passed on to his rule: ‘The Government remained for a length of time in the hands of his descendants... In the country of Sindh there were three kings, until at length the territories of the Hindus came under the authority of King *Kafand*’, ‘after he had by his valour subdued them’.

King Kafand (i.e., Kaphs, Kapa, Kadphises).

‘This *Kafand* was not a Hindu.’ ‘He made fine speeches and praised all the Hindus and their country. He raised their

¹ The last king was *Kūyāhurat*. His relation was *Bol*, son of *Pandu*.

hopes by his virtues, and realized them by his deeds'.....
 . 'In the *Shāhnāmā* he is called Kaid the Hindu'. 'He came after (*b'ād*) Alexander the Greek.' [This was a note by the author of the *Mujmal ut T.*; he later on considered him a contemporary of Alexander, to which he was led by the *Shāhnāmā* and his own identification.¹]

Sāmīd was his brother, who with the help and co-operation of 'Hāl, king of India', drove out the Persian fire-worshippers from Mansur (Sindh) and idol (Buddha) temples were set up where fire-temples stood. The fire-worshipper who was driven to *Kiyātasa* was *Mahra* (i.e., King *Mazdai*).² *Ayand* (i.e., *Uvima*, *Vama*) was the son of *Kafand* and he succeeded his father. He divided Sindh in four parts including the country which had been under *Sāmīd* (*Sānīd*). 'This was after *Hāl*.' He posted kings in each of the four provinces, one of which comprised part of Hindustan, Nadama and Lohana. After *Ayand* his son, *Rāsal* became king. 'He reigned for some time until one rose up against him and expelled him from the kingdom. (Elliot, p. 110.)

* * *

Now it seems that *Kafand* represents *Kaphsa* or *Kapa* of the coins and inscription, and *Ayand*, his successor 'Uvima' or Wema Kadphises. *Rāsal* was probably the unrecorded successor of Wema who is the man driven out by ('one') Sātavahana. Hāla who was a contemporary and helper of *Kafand* in driving out the Parthians (fire-worshippers of Persia), reigned about 17-21 A.D. (J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 279). *Ayand* (Wema) established sub-kingdoms, 'after the time of Hāl'; he flourished about 60 A.D. (J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 241). *Rāsal*, i.e. *Ayand*'s son would have been expelled about 78 A.D.

Apparently *Kafand* who was not a Hindu started a good rule, conciliatory to the Hindus. He raised *But* (Buddha) temples. This datum from this unexpected source is welcome.

¹ The English translator changed the text, *b'ād* into *ba'ahad*. Elliot, I, p. 108, n. 4.

² *Mahra-Mazdai*. He was evidently the same as king *Mazdai* who executed St. Thomas. Here is another proof of the truth of story of St. Thomas' coming to Sindh and the Punjab. In MS. *d* has been confused with *s*, e.g. *Barkamāris* for *Vikrmādīt*.

The *Rāsal* of this Sindh history is confirmatory of the version which makes Rīsālū as the king defeated by Śālavāhana as against the version which makes Rāsālu identical with the Śālivāhana conqueror.¹

The data about *Sunāgh* and synchronism with the Persian king and the Persian expedition in India are not less important. They show that there was a written record of it in India. The Śīsunāgas are considered as the second imperial family after the Bhāratas. The musician-caste story about the Bhāratas refers to Udayana. It is assumed that some Śīsunāgas were considered as suzerains of Sindh, and that the family of Jayadratha lasted for many generations in Sindh.² The connection of Hāla with Sindh is worthy of notice. After the Bhāratas and the Śīsunāgas the family of Hāla (the Sātavāhanas) is the imperial family according to this account. The driving out of the Parthians from Sindh and the neighbourhood by Kafand is confirmed by materials we already know. That Hāla helped Kafand in this is a new information.³

¹ The next extract is about *Rawwāl* and *Barkamārīs*. They are called sons of *Rāsal*, which only means that they came after *Rāsal* and were rulers in Sindh, as Hāl is called a successor of Jayadratha. It means that the Gupta is the next imperial rule after that of Kafand and his descendants. Rawwāl's (Rāmagupta's) brother was *Barkamārīs* (Vikramadītya) who is described to have killed the enemy in the disguise of his brother's queen. (See my separate article on Chandra-Gupta II.)

² Cf. Wala Seal on the existence of the dynasty of Jayadratha in or near Kathiawād (IA., 38. 145).

³ Cf. Ferishta (*Introduction*, Elliot, VI. 547, 548, 555) on the reign of *Kishan*, his son *Mahā Rāj* (who 'with the assent of the chiefs of the tribe' ascended the throne), *Kaid Rāj* (who 'was nephew by the sister's side of Mahā Rāj, in accordance with whose will and testament he ascended the throne.' He built the fort of Jammu. There was a national rising and Kaid was made to evacuate the Punjab. Kaid reigned for 43 years). These are evidently *Kushana*, *Mahārāja Kushana*, and *Kadphises* of the archaeologists.

IV.—Chandra-Gupta II (Vikramāditya) and his Predecessor.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

(i) *Corroboration of the Devī-Chandraguptam.*

§ 1. Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi was the first to discover two fragments of a lost drama called *Devī-Chandraguptam*¹ as cited by King Bhoja in his anthology *Sringāraprakāśa*. It was noted by Bhoja there that '*Chandra-Gupta, concealed in a female disguise, went to the enemy's camp—Aḷipuraṁ—to kill the Śaka king*'. स्त्रीवेष-निकृतः चन्द्रगुप्तः शत्रोः स्कन्धावारं अलिपुरं शकपतिवधयागमत् Mr. Sarasvati¹ in that connexion cited the commentary of Śaṅkara: शकानामाचार्यः शकाधिपतिः चन्द्रगुप्तभ्रातृजायां ध्रुवदेवीं प्रार्थयमानः चन्द्रगुप्तेन ध्रुवदेवी-वेषधारिण्या स्त्रीवेषजनपरिहतेन रक्षसि व्यापादितः on the well-known passage of Bāṇa (*Harshacharita* : अरिपुरे च परकलत्रकासुकं कामिनौ-वेशगुप्तश्चन्द्रगुप्तः शकपतिमश्नतयत्), but he dismissed it as a 'mistake in the statement of the commentator.' Professor Lévi, soon after,² published six passages of the *Devī-Chandraguptam* from a manuscript of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* sent to him by a Jaina Sādhu at Śivapurī, Śrī Vijayadharma Sūri, which established the statement of Śaṅkara that at the time of the Gupta attack on the Śaka king Dhruvadevī was the queen of his elder brother. The name of this latter king, which had been unknown before, was brought to light as *Rāma-Gupta*³, as well as the name of the author (*Viśākhadatta*) whom we already knew as the author of the classical drama *Mudrā-Rākshasa*. But Lévi declared the statement implied in the *Devī-Chandragupta* of *Viśākhadatta* 'to be far from historical reality' in respect of *Rāma-Gupta* being the elder brother of *Chandra-Gupta* and *Dhruvadevī* being *Rāma-Gupta*'s wife. The ground for his doing so, evidently, was that the lady is referred to in the official inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty as the wife of *Chandra-Gupta II* and that it is also stated there

¹ *I.A.*, July, 1923, pp. 182-183.

² *Journal Asiatique*, Oct.-Decr., 1923, pp. 201-6.

³ The names of the Gupta kings are to be spelt with a capital G. Only the first part is the name. See § 18, below.

that Chandra-Gupta had been selected by his father Samudra-Gupta as his successor; there was, therefore, no room for a Rāma-Gupta to come in between Samudra-Gupta and Chandra-Gupta. I should say here that the same must have been the first impression with most of the students of Indian history. It is difficult for one familiar with the Gupta official documents to accept the *Devī-Chandraguptam* for the existence of the unfamiliar Rāma-Gupta and his wife. But the fact seems to be otherwise.

§ 2. The late Professor R. D. Banerji, in his *Nundy Lectures* (November, 1924)¹ postulated the thesis that Rāma-Gupta is to be regarded as the immediate predecessor of Chandra-Gupta II. Since then Professor Altekar in two papers² has placed before us (1) a verse from the Sanjan plate, (2) a passage from the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājasekhara, and (3) a passage from a Muhammadan historian on *Rawwāl* and *Barkamāris*³, identifying *Barkamāris* with Chandra-Gupta II Vikramāditya.³ I may say at once that the identification is a solid contribution as we shall see presently.

§ 3. The Sanjan plate of Amoghavarsha, which is the earliest (873 A.D.)⁴ of his data, says that the great charitable donor-king of the Gupta dynasty who had caused to be recorded gifts of one hundred thousand crores⁵ was a poor being (in virtue, as compared with Amoghavarsha), for he took the kingdom of his brother and his queen. The verse cited by Rājasekhara (C. 900 A.D.) confirms the story as we shall see below. And so does the Muhammadan version which is cer-

¹ *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIV, 223.

² *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIV, 223; XV, 138.

³ Elliot, i, 110. Both *a* and *i* vowels are to be supplied in Persian script. Thus reading '*Birkamā*'³, we have, further, to take *ris* as a mere MS. misreading for *dit* which is an easy misreading in that script. Mr. Altekar's identification is, however, based on the text of the story.

⁴ E.I., XVIII, 248 (verse 48).

⁵ This is the meaning of *lakṣhāṇi koṭimalekhaya(t)*, not as Dr. Bhandarkar takes it: 'thereafter the wretch caused her [i.e., the Queen] to write down one lac, one crore (in the document)'. The reference is to recording of gifts. Cf. what Yuan Chwang says of Vikramāditya's donations and recording thereof in State annals. (Watters, i. 211.)

tainly older than 1026 A.D. An Arab (Abū Sālih) translated a Hindu book and the translation was rendered from Arabic into Persian in 1026 A.D. from which the history of Barkamāris is quoted by Abul Hasan 'Ali verbatim (1126-1193) [Elliot, i, 100 ff.]

§ 4. We have now evidence from a number of sources on the subject in a manner which is rather a rare combination in the field of Indian historical materials. We have

- (1) Bāṇa (C. 620 A.D.),
- (2) Amoghavarsha (873 A.D.),
- (3) Rājaśekhara (C. 900 A.D.),
- (4) Bhoja (1018-60 A.D.),
- (5) Abu-l Hasan 'Ali (1026 A.D.), and
- (6) Śaṅkara (1713 A.D.).

We may hold at once with Professor Lévi that Śaṅkara had the original drama *Devī-Chandraguptam* before him. Proof of the fact that the drama was extant till recently has come forward since Professor Lévi wrote: Mr. Kavi has written to me that he has recovered a manuscript of the drama *Devī-Chandraguptam* itself but it is a fragment. There is no doubt that the fragmentary manuscript is of the same book which is cited by different authors and that its author was Viśākhadatta.

§ 5. Out of the remaining authorities, (2) Amoghavarsha and (4) Bhoja occupy a semi-official position, and though we may dismiss Bhoja with the remark that his knowledge was very likely derived from the *Devī-Chandraguptam* itself, we certainly cannot say the same about (2), (3) and (5), and very likely also of (1). (2) Amoghavarsha records both the donation of the Gupta king (who can be no other than Chandra-Gupta II as rightly contended for by Professor Altekar) and implies the incident of the re-marriage of Dhruvadevi by Chandra-Gupta, and his succession after his brother.

§ 6. As to (3) Rājaśekhara, he quotes the verse as an instance of an allusion to a historical fact and its implication (*vr̥tt=etivrittaḥ kathotthaḥ*, p. 46, on *Arthavyāpti*, p. 42). It is certain that this verse does not come out of the *Devī-Chandraguptam*. This is addressed by some poet to some king and by implication shows that the addressee was greater than the great

Gupta emperor in respect of his deeds in the Himālaya where the Gupta king had left such a bad record.¹ We have in this evidence an independent corroboration. And the evidence must go back at least to the ninth century, to be an authority well-known for citation without name. I may add here in passing that *Śarma-Gupta* is the result of an easy Nāgarī misreading of *Rāma-Gupta* (राम having been read as शर्म, with a subsequent correction required by the metre and the necessity to have a correct Sanskrit word). Similarly *Khasa* in *Khasādhīpataye* is a transposed form of *sakha* (which was used for *Saka*, following the vernacular pronunciation).

§ 7. Like Rājaśekhara's authority, we have to regard Abu-l Hasan 'Ali who merely made a literal translation of the Arabic original which in turn was a translation of a Hindu work. The original Arabic work would have belonged to the period of the Arab conquest of Sindh or thereabout, and has to be palced about 800 A.D. It should be noted that the Persian translator heads the subject as '*History of Rawwāl and Barkamāris*' and places it in chronological order, giving it last, after the imperial periods of the Bharatas, Śisunāgas and the Persian rule, Hāla and Kadphises, the son of the latter, and then a break.² The passage does not know *Chandra-Gupta* but *Vikramāditya*, while the drama mentions 'Chandra-Gupta'. *Vikramāditya* is a later title assumed not at the stage where the *Devī-Chandraguptam* ends. The datum *ruddhagatiḥ* ('besieged') in Rājaśekhara's quotation is fully confirmed by Abu-l Hasan 'Ali. *Rāsal* was the grandson of Kafand (*i.e.*, Kadphises) and son of Ayand (*i.e.*, *Uvim*, *W'ma* or *Wema*).² He was dispossessed and driven away before Rawwāl's accession. *Rāsal*'s son (evidently, a descendant)

¹ G.O.S., No. 1, p. 47 :

कथोत्थ :—

दत्त्वा रुद्रगतिः खसाधिपये देवीं भ्रुवस्वामिनीं

यस्मात् खण्डितसाहसो निवटते औशर्म (corr. औराम)-गुप्तो नृपः ।

तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये गुरुगुहा-कोषकायत्किन्नरे

गौयन्ते तव कार्तिकेयनगरस्त्रीणां गणः कौर्त्तयः ॥

It is not addressed to Kumāra-Gupta as wrongly supposed by Professor Altekar. *Kārtikeya* goes with *nagara*. No poet would have mentioned so irreverently about Kumāra-Gupta's own mother to him.

² See my separate article on Śaka-Sātavāhana in this issue.

'led an army and put Rawwāl to flight. Rawwāl with his brothers and nobles all went to the top of a mountain where a strong fortress had been built. Then they set guards on the summit and felt secure. But the enemy got possession of the mountain by stratagem, and besieged the fort, and was near upon taking it. Rawwāl then sent to sue for peace, and his enemy said—"Send me the girl [i.e., the newly married queen] and let every one of your chiefs send a girl. I will give these girls to my officers—then I will withdraw." Rawwāl was dejected but he had a wazir, blind of both eyes, named *Safar*, of whom he enquired what was to be done. He advised them to give up the woman and save his life. He might then take measures against his enemy, but if he lost his life what would be the good of children and wife and riches. They resolved upon this course but just at this juncture, Barkāmaris came in, and after making his salutation, said, "I and the king are sons of the same father; if he will acquaint me with his opinion, it may be that I may be able to suggest something,—do not take my youth into consideration." So they informed him of the facts. He then said "It seems proper that I should take my life for the king: let an order be given for me to be dressed like a woman, and let all the officers dress their sons in like manner as damsels, and let us each conceal a knife in our hair, and carry a trumpet also concealed; then send us to the king. When we are brought before the king they will tell him that I am the damsel, he will keep me for himself and give the others to his officers. When the king retires with me I will rip up his belly with the knife and sound the trumpet. When the other youths hear this they will know that I have done my work, and they must also do theirs. All the officers of the army will thus be slain. You must be prepared, and when you hear the trumpet, you sally forth with your soldiers and we will exterminate the foe." Rawwāl was delighted and did as was proposed. It succeeded, not one of the enemy's horsemen escaped, all were slain and cast down from the mountain. Rawwāl's power increased.'

THE ARAB NARRATION AND VIKRAMĀDITYA'S MANTRIN.

Now, there is internal evidence indicating that the narration is substantially true. It was at the request of his *Wazir*, i.e., *Mantrin*, that Rāma-Gupta¹ agreed. The name of the Prime Minister of Rawwāl and latterly of Barkamāris is given (*Safar*) which is borne out by a document of the son of the Prime Minister of Chandra-Gupta II. The *lingam* now in the Lucknow Museum from Karamādānde (Fyzabad) dated G.E.

¹ *Rawwāl* is a Prakrit combination of *Rāma* and some other word like *pāla*. (It does not appear to be the same as *Rāwal*.)

117 (=436 A.D.) has the inscription that Prithivishena, Senior Minister in charge of the army (Mahābalādhikṛita) under Kumāra-Gupta I, was the son of Śikhara-Svāmin, Mantrin and 'Prince-Minister', (Kumārāmatya) of Chandra-Gupta II.¹ Abu-l Hasan 'Ali says that *Safar* was pardoned by Barkamāris and was persuaded by him not to resign, and that *Safar* wrote a treatise on Politics, '*Instruction of Kings*', i.e., a book under the title of *Rāja-nīti*, which was greatly admired by the king and all the nobles. *Safar* is said to have ended his life on the funeral pyre (like Kumārila), he had put it off to complete his book. This book was probably Kāmandakīya (see separate note on the subject in this issue). The Arab translator had prepared an abstract of it. *Safar* is the Arabic rendering of Śikhara. The name transcribed as سفر (*Siḡar* after losing one dot, became سفير (*Sifar* or *Safar*). The Kāmandakīya Nīti which is addressed to the King as *Instruction* (see separate note in this issue), mentions the king's name (His Majesty the King Deva) and defends the killing of an enemy by assuming a disguise (see separate note). The coins of Chandra-Gupta and the contemporary sculptures, e.g. at the Chandra-Gupta cave at Udaygiri, prove that long locks of hair were worn by aristocracy at the time. That the besieged place was a hill-fortress from which the soldiers of the enemy could be hurled down is corroborated by the independent testimony of the verse in Rājaśekhara. Professor Lévi says that it was to give satisfaction to his 'people' that Rāma-Gupta agreed to the term, but '*prakṛitīnāmāśvasanāya*' should refer to his Prime Minister (with the Ministers' Council), as stated by Abu-l Hasan 'Ali. After the defeat was turned into a victory, '*Rawwāl's power increased.*' This as well as the closing statement that

'the power of Barkamāris and his kingdom spread until
at length all India submitted to him'

could not be derived from the Devī-Chandraguptam, nor would the detail about the composition of the book on Political Science. The whole information is based on some historical

¹ E.I., X. 70. See the next paper in this issue.

work and not on a semi-historical source like a drama. It is also noteworthy that Abū Šālih made an abstract of the book of Safar (Šikhara), and he was not relying on oral tradition, for he especially notes '*I have related all the facts just as I found them.*'

§ 8. Coming to (1) Bāṇa, the position is this. That Chandra-Gupta dressed himself up as a woman and killed the Śakapati is a statement which can be explained only by the other data we now possess. Bāṇa who lived within a few miles from Pāṭaliputra (which I regard with Mr. Allan as the capital of the Gupta empire) and writing only two hundred years after Chandra-Gupta II, being intimately connected with the royal court of Harsha and the Maukharis, must have had information in the form of court traditions and written state annals, which are spoken of by his contemporary Yuan Chwang especially with reference to the time of Vikramāditya. Even failing the latter, one would know in those days of the great Chandra-Gupta Vikramāditya as we know to-day of Akbar or Aurangzeb. An event connected with the preceding and recent dynasty in the time of Bāṇa—an event so epically daring and successful—an event which must have become part of universal knowledge like the fall of the Kaiser in our life-time—an event which swept away a hateful Mlechchha dynasty which had ruled for some 400 years—an event so triumphant as to cause a revival of the title of Vikramāditya, was beyond the possibility of oblivion in Bāṇa's time. His statement about it should be regarded as good history.

§ 9. The result is that we have three independent sources ranging from 800 to 1000 A.D., confirming the *Devi-Chandraguptam* expressly and one of *C.* 620 A.D., confirming it impliedly. The evidence of the *Devi-Chandraguptam* is therefore to be accepted.

(ii) *Gupta Inscriptions.*

§ 10. Now let us consider whether the datum is against the inscriptions.

The inscriptions do not seek to give either a complete genealogy of Samudra-Gupta's sons or a complete list of successions. They only purport to give the line of a particular king,

e.g. of Chandra-Gupta II, Kumāra-Gupta, Skanda-Gupta. As only the son and the descendants of Chandra-Gupta II succeeded, no mention was necessary or possible of Rāma-Gupta. Chandra-Gupta II was the son of Samudra-Gupta and the fact was mentioned; neither Chandra-Gupta nor his descendants would go out of their way to bring in Rāma-Gupta in the official records: the descent from father to son was complete in itself. Again, Chandra-Gupta II had in his favour the additional fact that his father's will and bequest was in his favour. The fact was mentioned to justify the unusual succession of the younger son, which became probably necessary on account of the existence of some other brother elder than Chandra-Gupta. The Eran inscription of Samudra-Gupta mentions the existence of several sons and grandsons of Datta-Devī and Samudra Gupta. Abū Sālih also says that Rawwāl had his 'brothers' with him, that is, brothers more than Chandra-Gupta, who was evidently one of the youngest, as he was only a lad who could successfully assume the look of a girl. The succession of young sons in the dynasty—e.g. in the known cases of Samudra-Gupta, Chandra-Gupta and Skanda-Gupta—explains the high average of reigns in the dynasty.

(iii) *Identification and Succession of Rāma-Gupta.*

§ 11. We have the unassigned coins of *Kācha Gupta* which follow so closely the coinage of Samudra-Gupta that Mr. Allan in his Catalogue of Gupta Coins has assigned them to Samudra-Gupta himself. Yet the portrait is so different that he has to be taken as a distinct and separate king. His coins are few and of one type. There is no doubt that they come immediately after Samudra-Gupta and that his issues were not many. Dr. Bhandarkar has told me that '*Rāma*' is merely a misreading for '*Kācha*' which is plausible enough in the script of the Gupta period. But it is also possible that *Kācha* had another name as '*Rāma*'. The Muhammadan historian's *Rawwāl* suggests a Prakrit form derived from '*Rāma*'. It, again, occurs in the quotation given by Rājasekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* as *Śarma* शर्म (corr. रम)-*Gupta* which, in my opinion, as already pointed out, is a copyist's mistake for the Nāgarī

Rāma-Gupta. The form *Rāma* occurring so persistently is probably not to be taken as a mere misreading of *Kācha*. I have, however, no doubt, in view of the coinage, that he is identical with *Kācha*, and Dr. Bhandarkar's main conclusion and mine agree in the result.

§ 12. The Gupta official inscriptions assert that Chandra-Gupta II had been selected by Samudra-Gupta as his successor to the Empire of India. This should be taken as a fact. The subsequent generations accepted it. The selection by the father implies, as in his own case, that there was an elder son or there were elder sons who were not considered to be competent by the father. In the case of Samudra-Gupta's selection by his father, the Council of Ministers gave their assent (Allahabad Pillar inscriptions¹). But this is not asserted in the case of Chandra-Gupta II. On the other hand, as we have seen, Abū Sālih says that a very able authority on Hindu Politics was the chief minister at the succession of Rawwāl and that he remained his faithful supporter throughout and was opposed to Vikramāditya and that on the latter's accession he wanted to retire. Evidently the Prime Minister (that is, he along with the Council of Ministers) did not favour a passing over of the eldest who in the eye of the orthodox Hindu Law was entitled to succeed as a matter of right. Events proved that the Prime Minister proved a pedant in the matter, and the late Emperor was right. *Rāma-Gupta* was a coward, as Viśākhadatta puts it, or a man of little courage, as Rājasekhara's authority describes him. As far as he could do it, he lost everything—the empire, name, prestige and honour of his house. Samudra-Gupta must have considered that the Shāhānushāhi, who had occupied the imperial position for the last three centuries, though had accepted his suzerainty, was still in the country and would probably raise his head again; and that there were at the time the powerful and ambitious Vākāṭakas who had been dreaming of acquiring the imperial position for themselves. Samudra-Gupta had made a right estimate of the political situation and of his eldest son's character,

¹ Allahabad Pillar Inscription, line 7 'sabhyeshūchchhvasiteshu'.

while the ministers evidently failed to realize it. That there had been no war of succession is evident from the fact that Chandra-Gupta the nominee son of Samudra-Gupta remained with his eldest brother and was present with him at the time of the impending disaster and was on good terms with his brother, for he offered to risk his life for the king.

§ 13. The factor which seems to have operated in favour of the succession was the respect for the orthodox Hindu Law which was reigning supreme at the time, having been brought on its pedestal back by the Gupta régime itself. The Guptas and their whole court were fastidious Hindus. Chandra-Gupta himself, following the example of Bharata, would have allowed his elder brother Rāma to be seated on the throne against the parental bequest, as a pious act of self-negation, dictated both by tradition and law. Abū Sālih and the inscriptions both unite in describing him as a man with a religious turn of mind.

(iv) *Dhruva-Devī.*

§ 14. Dhruva-devī who is very respectfully spoken of both by contemporaries and subsequent generations (e.g., she is referred to as Dhruva-svāminī in the verse quoted by Rāja-śekhara), seems to have given up marital relations with Rāma-Gupta after her rescue, according to Viśākhadatta. She was justified in giving up her unmanly husband, who had belied his name and the tradition underlying that name. Rāma had fought Rāvaṇa for his wife, while Rāma-Gupta agreed to give up his wife and hand her over to the Mlechchha to save his own life and throne. She had a right to be disgusted; and unless she were an effete woman with no individuality and backbone, as long as she was a woman, she must resent and decline to own such a despicable man as her lord. She was, according to Viśākhadatta, burning with shame, indignation, sorrow, asceticism and fear¹ (of molestation from Rāma-Gupta?).

§ 15. How Rāma-Gupta's end came about, we do not know and we will not know until we recover a complete copy of the Devī-Chandraguptam. Very likely it came about in the

¹ *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIV, 229, verse in passage marked VI.

form of a popular rising: for the Mahā-Bhārata says that the king who does not protect is to be treated like a rabid dog by his subjects. It seems, however, certain that it was a violent end. But there is no evidence yet to connect it directly or indirectly with Chandra-Gupta. In rescuing the honour of the Queen of Hindu India and his brother's throne he acted as one of the noblest of men. He had made personal sacrifice in allowing his brother's succession. He as king practically abolished capital punishment in India. In face of his known character, we cannot accept the story attributing his brother's murder to him, in the absence of positive and reliable evidence.¹ He is called a *Rājārshi*² at Udyagiri and Viśākhadatta in the Mudrā-Rākshasa *bharatavākya* (discussed below) describes Chandra-Gupta as *bandhubhṛityaḥ* ('loyal to his brother'). Available evidence contradicts the later aspersion which the Sanjan plate is careful to qualify with '*as one hears*'. Although the evidence of Abū Sālih is against Chandra-Gupta but it is to be taken as yet lacking corroboration and the details lack reality.³

RE-MARRIAGE OF DHRUVADĒVĪ.

§ 15. The re-marriage of Dhruvadevī with Chandra-Gupta must be accepted as a historical fact.

We have the reference contained in the Sanjan Copperplate of Amoghavarsha (I) dated 795 Śaka (=873 A.D.). Amoghavarsha who had gifted away the entire State (*i.e.*, its revenue) and once cut off his finger to deliver his subjects from some national distress, was compared with the Gupta king, the

¹ Bāṇa does not give Chandra-Gupta in his list as murdering his brother. Mr. Altekar's explanation (*J.B.O.R.S.*, XV, 141; XIV, 241-242) is not borne out by the text he relies on. The reference *madanavikāragopana-parasya* seems to be an affair like or related to his love for Mādhavasenā (*J.B.O.R.S.*, XIV, 228, *I.A.*, 1923, p. 183), and *śatrubhītasya* has an evident connexion with an episode of that nature. In that *bhīta* state of mind he seeks refuge into the palace.

² Fleet, *G.I.*, p. 35, l. 3.

³ Abū Sālih's this part of the story does not read like history. That the king's palace should be unattended by any guards at the door and any servants inside, and his not recognizing even the voice of his beggar-brother (Barkamāris) are details belonging to the region of pure fiction.

greatest *dātā* (benefactor) of the Kali Age, who had caused to be recorded gifts of a hundred thousand Koṭis (crores) [in his reign]. The comparison was concluded to the advantage of the Rāshtrakūta king, as the Gupta king was alleged to have misappropriated the kingdom of his brother and also taken his Devī (Queen). Abū Sālih says that Vikramāditya performed the obsequies of his brother and married the queen of his brother on his death. The fact that Chandra-Gupta re-married Dhruvadevī, the widow of his brother, is certain. Such a marriage was not only sanctioned but held desirable by the Hindu Law which ruled in that age. The story given in the *Mujmal-ut-Tawārīkh* that the Queen had been first betrothed to Vikramāditya and that his elder brother Rawwāl took her himself as his wife may or may not be true, it may or may not be a subsequent explanation. But the popular version attested by the account given by Abū Sālih and the taunt in the Sanjan plate, together with the statement in the official documents of the Guptas, establish the re-marriage.

(v) *The place of Rāma-Gupta's disaster.*

§ 16. Abū Sālih says that Vikramāditya's brother was besieged in a hill-fortress. We are here materially helped by Rājasekhara who in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (p. 47, ch. IX—on *Arthavyāpti*) cites from an older authority a verse discussed above saying 'in that very *Himālaya*' (तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये) where the demoralised (*khaṇḍita-sāhasaḥ*) 'Sarma-Gupta' (corr. *Rāma-Gupta*) had been besieged (*ruddhagatiḥ*) and had to (agree to) surrender 'the Queen *Dhruva-Svāminī*' 'Your fame is sung by womenfolk...' This datum is earlier than Rājasekhara, that is, earlier than 900 A.D. And we have it stated definitely therein that the Gupta king was held up in a place in the Himalayan range. We may take note of the fact that Abū Sālih's survey is confined to the provinces of Sindh and the Punjab. I would conclude that the place was in the hills in the Jallundhar Doab, somewhere in or about the Sabathu Hill of the Himalayas where in the Moghul times Guru Govind Simha founded his military base. My reasons for this conclusion are these. The Gupta empire under the preceding reign, according to the Allahabad Pillar

inscription, which was recorded after the death of Samudra-Gupta either under Rāma-Gupta or Chandra-Gupta, extended upto the kingdom of Kartripura and Nepal. The territory adjoining Kartripura was thus evidently under the rule of the Guptas. The hill-fortress—a strong position and a strong building—had been already prepared, according to Abū Sālih, *i.e.*, by the Gupta kings. We may take it that it must have been in the Gupta territory. There was a war in the plains and the Gupta king was forced to take shelter in his fortress. Now, battle-fields in each country are designed by nature. As a big land war is bound to be decided near Attock in the Frontier Province, or at Panipat if it takes place in the Kurukshetra country; similarly in the Punjab proper the field designed by nature is the Doab of Jallundhar between the Beas and Jhelum, as illustrated by the Sikh Wars in recent times.

§ 17. Do we get any place-name in our documents for this war? *Aripura* of Bāṇa, if a proper-name, was the area which like Kartripura, extended upto the Himalayan Hills, *viz.*, to the Simla and Sabathu Hills. King Bhoja reads it as *Alipura* (transcribed in the southern manuscript as *Alipura*). The old village of *Aliwāl* in the Jallundhar District which became a battle-field in the first Sikh War might be retaining that ancient name.¹

The *Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi* ('King, king of kings'), that is, the Kushāṇa Emperor, the neighbour of Samudra-Gupta, could have been only in the Punjab. His territory extended from the frontiers of Kartripura upto Bactria, his ancestral seat, probably as one administrative unit.²

(vi) *The Śaka-pati.*

The *Śaka-pati* of our authorities² therefore was in the Punjab, and undoubtedly he was *Śakādhipati*, as Śaṅkara calls him or **Sakhādhipati* of Rājaśekhara's author, that is, he was the Emperor of the Śakas or the Śakan Emperor, the *Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi* ['King, king of kings,']. The other title given by

¹ I am told, there is a hill-fortress *Alipur* in the Kangra District.

² For his name and kingdom in the Punjab see my second paper on the subject in the next issue of this Journal.

Śaṅkara, *Śakānām āchāryaḥ*, has a bearing on this question. That king was not only the emperor of the Śakas but also their religious leader—which is probably an attempt to give value to *Daivaputra* 'the Son of Heaven'.

(vii) *Date of the Śakādhīpati War.*

The war was fought immediately or soon after the death of Samudra-Gupta and the accession of Rāma-Gupta. This is suggested by Abū Salih's account. The fewness of Kācha's coins and their being only of one variety suggest that the total reign of Rāma-Gupta Kācha, both before and after the Himalayan disaster, did not cover more than two years or so. We should date the war about 375–380 A.D. Early in the beginning of the next century when Fa-Hian comes, he does not find any big Buddhist emperor in the Punjab, nor does he mention a recent war. He only knows an established and wonderfully well-regulated and a most prosperous government. The war must have been finished some considerable time before his visit.

(viii) *Forms of Gupta names.*

§ 18. I have shown in my separate note on the authorship of the Kāmandakīya Nīti-sāra that in the Gupta names the real names are the first members. This is fully established by inscriptions (cited in that note). 'Gupta' is to be taken in the names as *upādhi* (title)—*Chandraśchāsaṇa Guptaḥ*, as in the case of '*Prabhāvatī Gupta*'. The real name of Chandra-Gupta is therefore *Chandra*, *Chandra the Gupta*. Compare in this connection the expression *Gupta-nātha* in the Mandasor inscription of the 'national leader' Yaśodharman who was not a king and who mentions his sovereign as 'the Gupta Master'. All Hindu writers (e.g., in the Sanjan plate) treat *Gupta* as the family title, which means that it is not a part of the name. This is clearly illustrated by *Deva-rāja* and *Deva-Gupta*, the other name of Chandra-Gupta. We should spell these names as *Chandra Gupta*, *Kumāra Gupta*, etc., and not as *Chandragupta*, *Kumaragupta*, etc. We should also note that the coins of Kācha Gupta always and Chandra-Gupta often show the name only as 'Kācha' and 'Chandra'.

(ix) *Mihrauli Iron Pillar.*

§ 19. The original site of the iron pillar now standing at Kutub-Mihrauli (Delhi) must have been a 'mountain' (*girau*), at *Vishnupada*, as the inscription on it proves. It was probably in the Himalayas near or above Hardwar which is reputed as *Vishnupadi*. The place must have been under Anaṅgapāla to enable him to bring it from there and re-set it at Delhi. This too points towards the Hardwar hills. The inscription on it is later than the death of the sovereign *Chandra* mentioned on the pillar. The pillar was erected by himself, but the inscription was engraved by his successor.

Mr. Ganga Prasad Mehta, a professor of history at the Hindu University at Benares, has written a work in Hindi on Chandra-Gupta II for the Hindustāni Academy of Allahabad. In its introduction I have accepted the identification by that scholar of the *Chandra* of the Iron Pillar with Chandra-Gupta II. For the information of English-knowing scholars I may give here the line of the argument of Mr. Mehta. He compares the language of and expressions in the coins of Chandra-Gupta II with those occurring on the pillar. He also shows that Chandra-Gupta was a great Vaishṇava both according to the Gupta inscriptions and this pillar. The comparison of expressions seems to me as convincing. Chandra's identification with the Chandra of Susunia inscription, as originally proposed by MM. Haraprasad Sastri, is to be given up, as Mr. K. N. Dikshit has proved the latter to be a Bengal king. The scripts also prove that the latter flourished later than the builder of the Iron Pillar.

§ 20. The last line of the Iron Pillar has a curious word, *dhāvena*, which has been variously taken, viz., as a proper-name and as a mis-spelt word.¹ Its position shows that it is a proper name. But instead of correcting it into *bhāvena* (as done by Dr. Fleet) I would read it as *Devena*.²

§ 21. In any case the identity seems to be certain. For this we have internal evidence in the history recorded in

¹ Fleet, G.I., p. 142, No. 2.

² The letter is clearly cut as *dhā*, which in any case is a mistake.

the inscription itself. The king 'having crossed in war' 'the seven faces of the river Sindhu' defeated the Bactrian (*i.e.*, in or about Bactria) (*tīrtvā yena mukhāni sapta samare Sindhor jjitā Vālhikāḥ*). This will be necessary if Chandra-Gupta II wanted to finish the Kushāna rule in India once for all. That he did finish it is admitted at all hands. The Kushānas had Bactria, their ancestral home, as their real base, wherefrom they retrieved their position shaken in India in the past. It was necessary to wage war over the whole of the *Sapta-Sindhu* area (Persian *Haft-Hindu*) with which Afghanistan and Bactria were intimately and integrally connected. Chandra conquered the seven faces or feeders of the Indus 'in war', that is, he had to contest all the ground of the Seven-Sindhu Province. In going to Bactria from Āryāvarta one has to cross successively the seven rivers making up the Indus (*i.e.*, the five rivers of the Punjab, with the Kabul and the Kunar rivers meeting the Indus). The Kabul, the Kunar and the five rivers of the Punjab make up the trunk or the body of the Indus: the Indus in fact has seven 'mukhas', faces, mouths or feeders. They are not the *mouths* of the River as we understand the term in English. Only a mariner will think of passing the seven mouths of the Indus at the sea. No sane man will see the necessity of crossing all the mouths of the river in an expedition even in going to Baluchistan, to get where one would cross only the main stream of the Indus. Scholars have been misled by the word 'mouths' into supposing that the king reached Baluchistan and that Baluchistan was meant by Vālhika. But that the Hindus had a correct and exact view of Vālhika (as Bactria) even upto the time of Rājaśekhara is proved by the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (Ch. XVII; p. 94). *Sapta mukhāni* in the inscription is used in the same sense as *chatur-mukha*, *śaḍānana* *Daśānana*—having so many heads. Sindhu (*Nada*, a man-river, is envisaged as having seven faces or heads.

§ 22. The script of the Iron Pillar is certainly second only in date to the Allahabad Pillar script. Its early character is admitted by every one. Now we find that *Chandra* alone was the real name of Chandra-Gupta II, there is therefore no difficulty in the way of the identification on the score of the

name-form. The history of the extinction of the Kushāna power in India fits in with the history recorded on the Iron Pillar. In the inscription, passages from coin-legends of Chandra-Gupta II are incorporated, as Mr. Mehta shows. He is the great Vaishṇava king of the dynasty. The age of the script agrees exactly with the age of Chandra-Gupta II. Conquest of Bengal is proved by the possessions of Bengal in the hands of his descendants. Chandra-Gupta II's political influence in southern countries is now well-established.¹ All this fully tallies with the biography of Chandra on the Iron Pillar. I do not find that there is any loop-hole for an escape from the identification of the Chandra of the Iron Pillar with Chandra-Gupta II.

§ 23. The language of the verses is one which only a Kālidāsa could have employed. Kalidāsa who was a contemporary (being an ambassador of Chandra-Gupta II in the south¹) could not have thought of describing a Hindu *divijaya* reaching the banks of the Oxus (Vaṅkshu), i.e., Bactria, without the fact having been accomplished by a Hindu Sovereign before or in his time, and who could this Hindu Sovereign be other than Chandra-Gupta II?

(x) *Viśākhadatta.*

§ 24. When last December I saw the Gupta cave-temple at Udaygiri (Bhilsa-Vidiśa), cut by the Governor of Chandra-Gupta II, and the Varāha panel, I found for myself the whole scheme—the Varāha, the rock-cut temple, the subsidiary statues of the Gupta coin-goddess, etc.—as one piece of architectural design. The same polish which is on the handsome figures of Jaya and Vijaya with long locks of hair parted in the middle, at the door of the temple, extends up to the Varāha panel executed by the side of the door. It was a good thing that the Varāha figure is sculptured outside the temple, otherwise the grandeur of that masterpiece would have been lost in the darkness of the cave. Face to face with the standing figure of Varāha, in the pose of Chandra-Gupta II on his coins, rescuing

¹ Moraes, *Kadamba-kula*, pp. 21, 26, 27.

by the end of his tusk a most beautiful woman, receiving the homage of orthodoxy in the persons of rishis and of the crowd playing various music, face to face with that image, I recalled to my mind Viśākhadatta's *bharatavākya*:—

वाराहीमात्मयोनेस्तनुमवनविधावास्थितस्यानुत्पदां
यस्य प्राग्दन्तकोटिं प्रलयपरिगता प्रिथिवी भूतधानी ।
स्तेचैरुद्विद्यमाना भुजयुगमधुना संश्रिता राजमूर्तेः
स श्रीमद्वन्द्यस्त्रिरमवतु महीं पार्थिवस्त्रिगुणः ॥

The *ślesha* in the verse is to be interpreted. Dhundhirāja, the commentator, failed to carry the figure upto the part dealing with 'King Chandra-Gupta'. The verse, fully interpreted, gives the biography of the King Chandra-Gupta. *Chandra-Gupta* has been taken by Viśākhadatta to mean Vishṇu: *chandra*=gold; *chandrāgupta*=*hiranya-garba*=Vishṇu.¹ *Prithvī* is *Dhurā*, *bhūta-dhātṛī* is the mother of the race as well as the *Prithvī*; *danta-koṭi* is a weapon, a dagger-knife shaped as the tusk of a boar still current in India.² Now Viśākhadatta had to bring in the weapon *danta-koṭi* in his allusion to his king 'reigning at present'; for this he adopted the simile of the *Varāha* incarnation, where also the rescued Earth is regarded as Vishṇu's wife. He executed his *ślesha* in a masterly manner. Vishṇu killed *Hiranyāksha* by assuming the guise of Boar; Chandra-Gupta killed the *Mlechchha* by assuming an appropriate disguise, of *śakti* (*Vaishṇavī*).

To translate the benedictory verse in its two main aspects—

(1) King Chandra-Gupta and (2) Vishṇu:—

(1) May the king Chandra Gupta, loyal to his (late) Majestic (*Śrīmān*) brother, rule over the country for a long time—the king on the arms of whose royal figure at this moment rests she (the Country or Queen *Dhruva-Devī*) who had been subjected to mental agony by the *Mlechchhas*, the king who, while being his own self (sex), assumed the disguise of *Varāhi*

¹ See Sarvānanda on Amara, III. 180. *Gupta* by itself means Vishṇu गुप्तसङ्गदाधरः (*Vi. S. Nāma*).

² For *danta* (Vedic) as the head of an arrow or some similar weapon see Monier Williams (Sans. Dict.) I take *dantakoṭi* as a technical Gupta name of the dagger called *Karauli* at present.

(*Sakti*-energy), a form required ('appropriate') in the duty of protection (*avanavidhau*) and who rescued by the point of *danta-koṭi* (dagger) the drowning, sinking Protectress (i.e., the Queen; with the other meaning, the 'Earth').

The other (2) meaning (in *Vishṇu-pakṣa*) is:

That *Vishṇu*, the lord of the Earth, may protect for ever the Country,—*Vishṇu* who possesses *Śrī*, and his servants in the (two) brothers (*Jaya* and *Vijaya*), who in the process of rescue assumed the necessary form of *Varāha* (Boar), though he is Self-Soul, at the end of whose tusk the Bearers of living beings, sinking in the deluge, obtained safety, and on the two arms of whose regal figure, rests she who had been harassed by the *Mlechchhas* (*Asuras*).

§ 25. The sculpture seems to me to be the result of *Viśākhadatta's* imagination. The temple is without a deity inside. The deity is sculptured outside. But the temple has the two brothers (*Jaya* and *Vijaya*) at the door. The sculptor has followed the imagery of *Viśākhadatta* and if *Viśākha-datta* was a man of *Malwa* or related to the Governor of *Chandra-Gupta* who was the donor of the temple and the sculptures, he might have himself directed the drawing. In any case the two are interconnected. The sculptor has drawn a *Chandra-Gupta* (with *Dhruvadevi*)-*Varāha*, and the poet a *Chandra-Gupta Maurya* turned into *Chandra-Gupta II* plus a *Vishṇu* of necessity—the necessity of a low disguise.¹

§ 26. The *Devi-Chandraguptam* is the life-drama of this epic king. We have the illustration in the *Kaumudīmahotsava*, another Gupta piece, where the biography of a ruling king was staged.² But the *Devi-Chandraguptam* was probably rendered later than its hero. The familiar name 'Deva' is replaced by the official name *Chandra-Gupta* even in his pre-coronation state. A love-scene with a courtesan is staged, which would be an indecency in the life-time of the hero. The drama must have

¹ By calling the king '*pārthiva Chandra-Gupta*' ('*Vishṇu* in human, material form') probably the poet is (hinting) that the *upāsya* and the *upāsaka* were identified (*tanmaya*) by devotion, and the consequent manifestation of superhuman deeds, partaking of the attributes of *Vishṇu* through the devotee, was the result of that *bhakti* unity.

² For the book see the *Journal of the Andhra Research Society*, Vols. II and III; and discussion thereon by me in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1930, p. 50 ff.

been written in the time of his son and might not have been published by the author in his own life-time. While *Mudrā-Rākshasa* is a contemporary document, the *Devī-Chandraguptam* is later. The author must have been a younger contemporary of the king. He was a 'Māhārāja's' grandson; probably he belonged to Mālwa and was unfamiliar with the familiar name of the King ('*Deva*') which is used by his daughter *Prabhāvatī Gupta* and her descendants.

V.—The Book on Political Science by Śikhara, Prime Minister of Chandra-Gupta II.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

Abū Sālih,¹ the Arab, who made an abstract of the book of Sifar or Siqar (=Śikhara)² gives the name of the book as *Adabu-l Mulūk* or 'Instructions to Kings' which is a rendering of *Rāja-nīti*. That *Kāmandakīya Nīti* is a work which had been well-established before the time of Bhavabhūti and Daṇḍin is shown by Ganapati Sastri (Trivandrum S.S. no. 14, pp. V-VI). Other grounds for holding it to be a Gupta production are given by me in my *Hindu Polity* (i. 215) and I need not repeat them here. Abū Sālih and the *Nīti* itself help us in assigning it to the reign of Chandra-Gupta II.

Just as Viśākhadatta contrives to give the name of Chandra-Gupta II in the benedictory verse at the close of the *Mudrā-Rākshasa*, the author of the *Nīti-sāra* manages to give the name of his patron in an unmistakable way in the opening verse. Owing to the double meaning (*ślesha*) which is the ruling literary fashion of the Gupta Kāvya, the reference escaped notice of scholars :

यस्य प्रभावाद्भवनं शाश्वते पथि तिष्ठति ।

देवः स जयति श्रीमान् दण्डधारो महीपतिः ॥

'His Majesty (*Śrīmān*) King Deva, holder of the sceptre, by whose authority men are adhering to the traditional (national) path, is ruling ("is victorious").'

We know from the Sanchi inscription of Āmrakārdava, an officer of Chandra-Gupta II, that the emperor Chandra-Gupta's pet name [*priya-nāma*, translated as 'familiar name' by Fleet, G.I., p. 33] was *Deva-rāja* or 'King Deva'. That *Deva* was the name and not *Deva-rāja* is evident from the fact that *Prabhāvatī Gupta* is described as the daughter of *Deva Gupta*, not

¹ See my article on Chandra-Gupta II, in this issue.

² Misreading of *q* for *f* for want of one dot. See my article on Chandra-Gupta II, *supra*.

Deva-rāja, in the Vākātaka inscriptions (Fleet, G. I., p. 235ff.). The identity of Chandra-Gupta II and Deva-Gupta, father of Prabhāvatī, is fully established by the inscription discussed by Mr. Pathak which gives *Chandra-Gupta* instead of Deva-Gupta (I.A., 1912, 215, V. Smith, J.R.A.S., 1914, 325). The names of the Gupta dynasty with *-Gupta* endings are to be spelt in English with a capital G (e.g., Chandra-Gupta), as the real names are only the first members (Samudra, Chandra, Skanda, etc.). This is illustrated by the forms *Deva-rāja*, *Deva-Gupta*, *Prabhāvatī-Guptā*, etc., where *Gupta* is used as a mere surname.

The real name was thus only 'Deva'. We already know that ministerial posts were hereditary under the Guptas.¹ The old, blind *Mantrin* ('Wazir'), who evidently came down from the time of the emperor's father, exercised the privilege of age in referring to his new and young sovereign by the *priya* (dear and familiar) name *Deva*.

The book further bears the stamp of the revival of the traditions of Chandra-Gupta the Maurya. As royal parents revived the name naming their sons after the Maurya Chandra-Gupta, as emperors sought to revive the Indian empire of the Maurya, so authors went back to the Maurya literature and made pointed references to it. Our *Nīti* belongs to that class, and the author does bring in the name of Chandra-Gupta and Kautilya (*ājahāra nṛichandrāya Chandraguptāya medinīm*, i. 5).

The author says that he is giving '*Instructions to the King* (or, *kings*)' in the matters of government by his manual (i, 7-8, उपार्जनं यत्नं च भूमेर्भूमौश्वरं प्रति, यत्किञ्चिदुपदेक्ष्यामः....).

The last verse of Ch. 25 (verse 71) seems to defend Chandra-Gupta II for killing the Śaka by stratagem :

'This is well settled that enemies may be killed by stratagem ; morality is not offended by a murder of an enemy through disguise' :

सुनियतमुपहन्वात् कूटयुद्धेन शत्रून् ।

न हि तिरयति धर्मं वृद्धना शत्रुघातः ॥

¹ Allan, C.C.G.D., p. xiii. Śikhara, however, was a Brahmin, whose father was a *pandita* ; he seems to have risen himself by learning, but in his son the post became hereditary (EI. X, 70).

And he cites what Droṇa's son did, while the Pāṇḍava army was asleep, unsuspecting (अचकितमवसुप्तं पाण्डवानामनौकं निशि सुनिशितशस्त्रो द्रोणस्तनुर्जघान ॥).

There are numerous passages in the Nīti which echo the language and style of the classical Gupta poets.

Kāmandaka was probably a family title of Śikhara, as Kauṭilya was of Viṣṇugupta. As Viṣṇugupta Kauṭilya wrote his Artha-Śāstra for *Narendra* (Chandra-Gupta Maurya), Śikhara (*Kāmandaka*) wrote his Nīti-sāra for king *Deva*.

Khazrāji¹ Ibn Abi Usaibei'a, the Arab writer, in his history of scientists which he completed in 743 A.H., mentions (vol. II, pp. 32-34, Egyptian printed edition, Matba-i-Wahbia, 1882 A.D.) that the book by the Hindi author *Sikkar*, (which can be read both as *Sikkar* and *Sikkah*) was translated into Arabic (evidently under the Abbasid Caliphs). This *Sikkar* is *Śikhara* and undoubtedly the same authority who is mentioned by Abū Sālih and is misspelt in the manuscript consulted by Elliot as *Sifar* (or *Safar*). Khazraji tells us that some Hindu author *Sanjhal* (منجھل) wrote on the book of *Sikkar*. Khazraji is here giving the name of the commentator of *Sikkar*, i.e., *Śikhara*. There was only one early commentator of the *Kāmandaka-Nīti*, *Śaṅkara-Ārya*, and *Śaṅkara-Ārya* cites no other commentator.² We do not know the date of *Śaṅkara-Ārya* from Indian sources. *Śaṅkarārya* does not quote any late authority.³ The word *Śaṅkara*, pronounced in a vernacular of the Punjab or Sindh as *Sanṅkar* or *Sanṅkhar*, will be rendered by Arabs as *Sanghar* and *Sanjhar*.

¹ I am obliged to my friend Mr. Reaz Hasan Khan for kindly giving me an extract from this author bearing on Sanskrit authorities known to the Arabs.

² That *Śaṅkarārya* is not the same as *Śaṅkara*, the commentator of the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*, is clear from their respective styles, and the forms of their names would also indicate two different persons.

³ He cites Kauṭilya, a book on trade (*panya*) by *Videharāja*, one on agriculture by *Parāśara* (II § 3, 14). The last two are unknown to every other writer on politics.

VI.—The Paramâras of Bhinmal.

D. C. Ganguly, M.A., Ph.D. (London).

The Bhinmal branch of the Paramâras played a considerable part in the history of mediæval India. The princes of this family designated themselves the rulers of Marumaṇḍala¹. Their territory extended upto Balmer in the Jodhpur State on the west, and their capital was at Śrīmâla, the modern Bhinmal, in the same Jodhpur State, a hundred miles south-west from Jodhpur itself.

Our main source of material for building up the short history of this family is the mutilated Kiradu inscription.²

The record is dated 1218 V.S.=1161 A.D. Here Sindhurâja is described as the earliest member of the family, whose son and successor was Dûsala. The former is probably the same as the younger brother and successor of the Paramâra Vâkpati-Muñja, king of Malwa (A.D. 972-995). Vâkpati once proceeded as far as the country of Marwar, in the course of his campaigns.³ It may be that during that time Candana and Dûsala were respectively posted in Jalor and Bhinmal, as Viceroys of the imperial house of Dhârâ.

After a mention of the name Dûsala, a few lines in the Kiradu inscription are illegible. Next we come across the name of the prince Devarâja. An inscription⁴ of his reign has been discovered. It is dated Sam. 1059=1002 A.D., and was issued when the king was residing in Śrīmâla (i.e., Bhinmal).

Devarâja seems to have established friendly relations with the Cāhamânas of Śākambhari after the defeat of the Mâlava king Sindhurâja by the Caulukya Cāmuṇḍarâja.⁵ His inscription relates that he pleased one Durlabharâja by his military achievement. Durlabha was, in all probability, the

¹ Kiradu inscription. (Unpublished).

² *Ibid.*

³ *E.I.*, Vol. X, p. 20.

⁴ Śrīmâl âvasthita mahârâjâdhirâja-Śrî-Devarâja. (Unpublished.)

⁵ *E.I.*, Vol. I, p. 297.

Câhamâna king of the same name, the younger brother of Vighararâja, who ruled Śâkambharî in the latter part of the tenth century A.D.

After the mention of Devarâja, some lines in the Kiradu inscription are again found broken. I think we miss in them the name of Dhamdhuka. Next comes Kṛṣṇarâja. Two inscriptions of his reign have been discovered.

The first one is found on a pillar of a rest-house, east of the temple of Bârâji, in the town of Bhinmal.¹ It was issued in Sam. 1117=1060 A.D., when Mahârâjâdhirâja Śrî-Kṛṣṇarâja, son of Dhamdhuka, grandson of Devarâja of the Paramâra race, was ruling at Śrîmâla. Its object is to register the facts that five personages, viz., Kiriṇâditya (Kiraṇâditya ?) and Vâni Dhamdhaka, sons of Jola of the Dharkuṭa family, Dada Hari, son of Mâdhava, Dhamdhanaka, son of Dharanacaṇḍa, and Dharanâditya, son of Sarvadeva of the Thâkhâṭa race, undertook the work of repairing the temple of the Sun-god named Jagatsvâmi. After the completion of the work a Brahman named Jejâka made at his own cost a golden jar and placed it on the temple. The king Kṛṣṇarâja, in order to meet the expenses of the temple, ordered that a certain village in the Śrî² . . . puriya-maṇḍala should pay to it yearly 20 drammas. He also granted for the same purpose a plot of land and a droṇa from his store (of the crops) in the village of Sacaliyâ. The grant was executed by Candana.

The second inscription,³ dated Sam. 1123=1066 A.D., was found on a pillar of the temple of Jagsvâmi at Śrîmâla. It also mentions the name of Kṛṣṇarâja as ruling in Śrîmâla, and designates him as mahârâjâdhirâja. It mentions the names of a number of servants of the officers of religion in the service of the God Caṇḍîśa Mahâdeva, and records the gift of a certain number of drammas by the Brahmans Gugâ and Vâhaṭa in favour of the above deity.

The decline of the power of the Paramâra government at

¹ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 472.

² A portion of the name of the province is missing.

³ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 473.

Dhârâ in the sixth decade of the eleventh century A.D., left the Caulukya Bhîma I, the king of Gujarat, free to ravage its collateral branches in Marwar and Abu. Kṛṣṇarâja's military strength was too insignificant to check the onward march of the Caulukyās. He fell a captive in the hands of Bhîma and was thrown into prison. In this terrible calamity he obtained his release through the help of the Cāhamānas of Nadol. In the Sundha hill inscription ¹ king Bālaprasāda, the successor of Anahilla, is described as having forced Bhîma to release Kṛṣṇadeva. Bhîma I closed his reign in 1063 A.D. The Bhinmal inscription dated 1066 A.D., referred to above, proves that Kṛṣṇarâja after his release regained his throne and ruled his territory as an independent monarch. He was followed by Socchirâja, Udayarâja and Someśvara.

The Kiradu inscription,² dated Sam. 1218=1161 A.D., already referred to above, was issued during the reign of the last-mentioned prince.

In the middle of the twelfth century A.D., the Cāhamānas of Nadol seem to have wrested from Someśvara the territory of Kiradu with the assistance of the Caulukya Kumārāpāla, the king of Gujarat. The Cāhamāna Ālhaṇa, a feudatory of the Caulukyās, issued an inscription dated Sam. 1209=1152 A.D., from Kiradu.³

Kumārāpāla's victory over the Ajmer king Arṇorâja brought a period of great prosperity to the Gujarat empire. But Vigharâja (1153-1164 A.D.), the successor of Arṇorâja, a powerful military leader, invaded the territory of the Caulukyās, and is said to have converted Naḍḍûla (Nadol) into a naḍavâla (*i.e.*, bed of reeds) and Jāvâlipura (Jalor) into Jvâlâpura (*i.e.*, a city of flame).⁴ He also reduced many small villages of his enemy into hamlets.⁵

¹ Jajñe bhûbhṛt tad anu tanayas tasya Vâ(Bâ)laprasādo Bhîma-kṣmābhre-carāṇa-yugali-marddana-vyâjato yaḥ | kurvan pīḍam ativa(ba) latayâ mocayāmāsa kārâgārād bhûmīpatim api tathâ Kṛṣṇadevâbhīdhānam || v. 18. (*E.I.*, Vol IX, p. 76).

² Unpublished.

³ *E.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 43.

⁴ *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LV, p. 41.

⁵ *Ibid.*

Someśvara probably took advantage of this disturbed condition of things in Marwar and regained his ancestral territory of Kiradu with the assistance of the Cāhamānas of Ajmer.

Someśvara appears to have been succeeded by Jayatasiha. An inscription of Jayatasiha's (Jayatasimha's) reign¹ has been discovered on a pillar in the temple of Jagsvāmi, at Bhinmal. It records that in Sam. 1239, Āsvina, = 1182 A.D., October, in the victorious reign of the Mahārājaputra Jayatasiha, at Śrīmāla, a certain person, viz., Aravasāka Vahiyaṇa, the Guhila, son of Pramahidā, gave to Vālākadeva one dramma in cash.

The Rajput bard describes Jaitsī as a Paramāra, ruling in Abu.² He is also mentioned as a contemporary of the Caulukya Bhīma II (1178-1239 A.D.) and the Cāhamāna Prṭhvirāja III, son of Someśvara, the king of Ajmer (1179-1193 A.D.). It is evidently an error on the part of the bard to describe him as the king of Abu, where the Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa ruled from 1162 to 1227 A.D. in unbroken continuity. The bard relates to us an interesting incident³ which resulted in a terrible fight between Jaitsī and the Cāhamāna Prṭhvirāja III on one side and Bhīma II on the other.

The story runs that Jaitsī had a very beautiful daughter, Ichanikumārī, who was betrothed to Prṭhvirāja III, and that Bhīma II, hearing about her extreme beauty, determined to have her for wife himself. He sent an ambassador to the Paramāra chief, demanding the hand of his daughter, but Jaitsī and his son Salakṣa refused to comply with this request, as the princess was already betrothed to the Cāhamāna prince. This infuriated Bhīma, and he ordered the invasion of Abu. Jaitsī, finding his strength quite inadequate to check the progress of the mighty Caulukyās, solicited the Cāhamānas for assistance. The Cāhamānas took up his cause with great zeal, but in the battle that ensued the Paramāra chief and his son were forced to surrender Abu and fled to Marwar. Bhīma then advanced upon Ajmer, and having slain its king Someśvara, returned to

¹ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 474.

² Forbes' *Rāsmāla*, Ed. by Rawlinson, Vol. I, p. 202.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 202 sqq.

Gujarat. But Prthvîrâja took over the government of his deceased father, and within a short time invaded Gujarat with a strong force. He defeated the Caulukyās and avenged his father's death by killing Bhîma.

The above story probably contains some amount of historical truth, notwithstanding the fact that there are in it some gross inaccuracies. Bhîma II, who ruled from 1178 to 1239 A.D., was certainly not killed by Prthvîrâja III. That the Cāhamāna king did invade Gujarat about this period, is borne out however by a contemporary record. The Pārtha-parākrama relates that the Paramâra Dhârâvarṣa, ruler of Abu, who was a feudatory of Bhîma II, repulsed a night-attack by Prthvîrâja, the king of Jaṅgala.¹

Jayatasîha's reign came to an end shortly after that event. He seems to have been succeeded by his son Salakha. The fall of the House of Ajmer in 1193 A.D. left the Paramâras of Bhinmal in a state of helplessness. The Cāhamānas of Nadol took the earliest opportunity to fall upon them and deprived them of their territory. The Sundha hill inscription relates that the Cāhamāna Udayasîṃha ruled over Naddûla, Jāvālipura, Māṇḍavyapura, Vāgbhaṭameru, Sûrâcaṇḍa, Râṭahrada, Keḍa, Râmasainya, Śrîmāla, Ratnapura and Satyapura.² Three inscriptions of his reign, dated Sam. 1262, 1274 and 1305 (=1206, 1218 and 1249) were issued from Śrîmāla.³ Nothing is known of the Paramâras of Bhinmal since this period.

¹ Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. IV, p. 3.

² *E.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 73.

³ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, pp. 474-476.

VII.—A Note on 'Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna'.

By M. Hamid Kuraishi, Esq., B.A., Archæological
Survey of India.

In the recent (September-December, 1930) issue of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Mr. Syed Muhammad, B.A., B.L., has published a lengthy article on 'Old Muslim inscriptions at Patna' complete with bibliography, index, etc. An effort has been made by the author to include in the article all available Persian and Arabic inscriptions from the time when the town formed part of the extensive kingdom of Sultan Husain Shah of Bengal to the year 1857 A.C. Much as the work is to be appreciated, certain defects have crept in here and there which it is the object of this note to correct. In the first place there are a number of Printer's mistakes in the Persian and Arabic texts of the inscriptions, which it is hoped will be duly rectified in the errata. Secondly in some of Mr. Syed Muhammad's readings of the inscriptions the requirements of Persian grammar and idiom have been apparently overlooked. It is not my purpose here to deal with each individual inscription; but a few of the more obvious emendations have been made in the hope that the author who seems to take a keen interest in Muslim epigraphy may be encouraged to be more careful in future.

(1) *Inscription No. 6 on the Mausoleum of Shah Arzāni.*—The reading شاد جنت ارزانی 'Beautiful paradise of Arzāni', neither rhymes properly nor gives good sense; nor indeed does it yield the date 1028 which should be the alphabetical value of the chronogram and which is written in figures at the end of the epigraph. Obviously the phrase should be read as 'Shah-i-Jannat Arzāni'. This reading would rhyme properly, make the chronogram equivalent to 1028 A.H., and give the full name of the saint at the same time.

(2) *Inscription No. 8 on the Patthar-ki-Masjid.*—In this important inscription some serious mistakes require to be

amended. According to Mr. Syed Muhammad the mosque was built in 1036 A.H. 'by Prince Parvez under his supervision'; but as that Prince died in 1035 A.H. at Burhanpur, the author believes that although the Prince began the construction of the mosque it was finished after his death. As a matter of fact, however, the inscription clearly mentions in the 3rd line the construction of the building by a highly respectable officer of the Prince named 'Nazar Khweshgi', i.e., Nazar Bahadur, a Khweshgi Afghan of Qasur, near Lahore, who later on held a rank of 1,500 under Jahangir and of 4,000 under Shah Jahan and died in the year 1062 A.H. at Lahore (Maathirul Umarā, Vol. III, pages 818 ff.). The syllable *Ba* read by the author of the article at the beginning of the name Nazar Khweshgi does not appear on the stone as will be seen from the facsimile published with this note.

The chief reason why Mr. Syed Muhammad falls into this error, seems to be his failure to read the *izafat* at the end of the word *chashm* in the first line of the inscription. Obviously it was Prince Parvez and not the Emperor Jahangir who was the light of the other's eyes.

Lastly the fact that Khirāmi (خرامی) in the last line was the poetic name of the composer of the verses has been lost sight of altogether with the result that the author is faced with a construction quite unusual in Persian and has to give a translation which he would not have given otherwise.

The lines in question read :—

(۱) در عهد نور چشم جهانگیر بادشاه

پرویز شاه عادل و باذل بعقل و رائی

... .. (۲)

... ..

(۳) کرد این بذای خاص نظر خویشگی که هست

در پیروی شرع محمد چون کوه پای

... .. (۴)

... ..

(۵) کورم سوال سال بنایش ز پیر عقل
گفتا بگو خرامی خیر المقام جایی

which the author translates as:—

In the reign of the Emperor *Jahangir the light of the eye*,
The just, generous, wise and intelligent Parvez Shah,

* * * *

Constructed this choice building *under his supervision*
and *which is*

As firm as a rock in the pursuit of the precepts of
Mohammad

* * * *

I asked about the date of construction from the old
wisdom,

Which said 'Say, it is a place *to walk to paradise*'.

In the light of the readings offered by me, however, the
translation of the verses should be as follows:—

'*During the viceroyalty of Prince Parvez, the light of the
eyes of the Emperor Jahangir, who is just in judgment and
generous with wisdom.*

* * * *

This especial (خاص) building was *constructed by Nazar
Khweshgi who is steadfast like a mountain, in obeying the
Law (شرع) of Muhammad.*

* * * *

I questioned the old man of wisdom about the year of
its construction and he replied, *Say O Khirāmi* 'This place
is the best resort'.

The inscription might be *in situ*; but there is nothing in
the inscription to indicate that it was originally put up on a
mosque.

(3) *Inscription No. 9 on the Idgah of Saif Khan.*—The last
but one word in the sixth line of this inscription should be
Khush, not *Arsh*.

(4) *Inscription No. 12 on Haji Chand's Mosque.*—Mr. Syed
Muhammad finds it difficult to make out how Haji Chand was

related to Shaista Khan; but the *Yai nisbat* (ی) in Shaista-khani (شایسته خانی) leaves no doubt whatsoever that the builder, Haji Chand, was a slave or a personal servant of Nawwab Shaista Khan. This construction is of frequent occurrence in Muslim inscriptions and we find even ruling kings such as Qutbuddin Aibak and Shamsuddin Altamish mentioning the fact that they were the slaves of the Sultan (Shihābuddin Ghauri) by adding the epithet *Sultani* at the end of their names.

(5) *Inscription No. 47 on the Lodi Katra Mosque.*—In this inscription the 2nd hemistich has been read as the 3rd and *vice versa*. The two couplets, of which the inscription consists, should be read as follows:—

(۱) چو این مسجد بتائید الهی

طفیل شاه ارزانی بنا یافت

(۲) بتاریخ همایون کلک تقدیر

رقم زد کعبه ثانی بنا یافت

And the translation would be:—‘When with the help of God, and through the grace of Shah Arzāni, this mosque was constructed, the pen of Fate wrote down on an auspicious date “A second Kāba has been erected”.’

(6) *Inscription No. 72 on Shah Rustam Ali's tomb in the compound of a mosque in the Nanmukia quarter:*—

In the third hemistich of this inscription Mr. Syed Muhammad has read Na-Jawānmardam as Najawan Murdam. The translation should therefore be ‘if I have not been a (جوانمرد) i.e., a brave or an ideal man in deeds, pass thou by me like a brave man (جوانمرد)’. Mr. Syed Muhammad's translation ‘if I died unmanly in action’ gives a different sense from that which the composer of the verses intended to convey.

The verse in question reads:—

اگر من نا جوانمردم بکردار

تو بر من چون جوانمردان گذر کن

(7) *Inscription No. 79 on Kazim Ali's mosque*.—Here again, as in the case of No. 47, the 2nd hemistich has been read as the 3rd and *vice versa*. Moreover the word *sininash* in the third hemistich meaning 'its date' has been misread as *sina ash*, 'its chest'. The difference is obvious. Again, the closing words of the second line seem to be quite clear on the stone and read (كه بود فرق عرش سا) 'of which the pinnacle touches the heavens'. Lastly the alphabetical value of the Arabic line (فولوا وجوهكم شطر المسجد الحرام البسيط) which is a slightly altered form of the Quranic verse 143, Chapter II with an additional word (*al-basit*) at the end, comes to 1242 A.H., and is just one unit too much compared with the date given in the closing words of the main inscription which is in Persian verse. It was no doubt with the object of recording the date of the construction of the Mosque in Arabic that these alterations were made in an important Quranic verse.

(8) *Inscription No. 105 on Mir Abdullah's tomb*.—The words which have been read by Mr. Syed Muhammad as 'Amthal-i-wafiran' 'the richest men who were examples for it' are really 'Amthal-o-Aqran' (امثال و اقارن) 'equals and compeers'.

(9) *In inscription No. 108 on Mian Khan's tomb in the compound of Shaikh Barkat's Mosque*, the first couplet reads:—

ميان خان كه در عنقوان شباب
بساط حياتش قضا در نوشت

which Mr. Syed Muhammad translates as:—

'Mian Khan in the beginning of whose youth,
Death was written on the carpet of his life.'

But (در نوشت) means 'rolled up'; so the verse should be translated as follows:—

'Mian Khan, whose carpet of life Death rolled up in the prime of youth.'

(10) *Inscription No. 110 on the tomb of Muhammadi Khanam in the Shia cemetery situated near the Gulzarbagh Railway Station*:—

In this inscription the importance of the epigraph has been lost owing to a free translation of the first couplet in which all the important points have been left out.

The line reads :—

بنال فرقتی خسته دل بمانم او
که مرد زوجه خوبت محمدی خانم

which Mr. Syed Muhammad translates :—

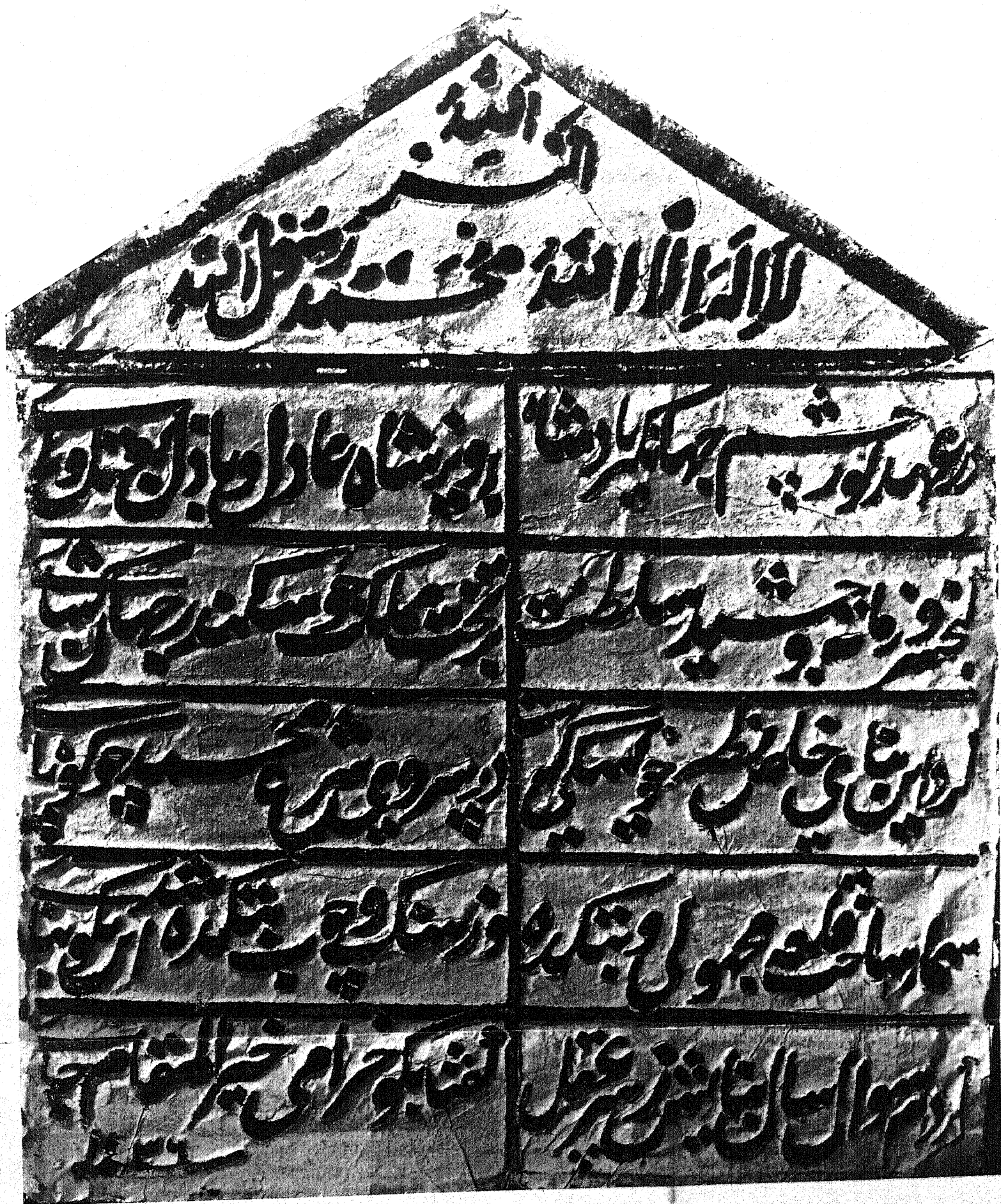
‘ My heart is broken with lamentation for the separation of the good lady Muhammadi Khanam who is dead.’

The correct translation of the couplet should, in my humble opinion, be as follows :—

‘ Cry (بنال) *O broken hearted Furgati* in mourning over her, for *thy good wife* (زوجه خوبت) Muhammadi Khanam is dead.’

Thus the line contains the poetic name, Furgati, of the composer of these verses who was the husband of the deceased lady. The author’s translation does not bring out this relationship and the *takhallus* which invest the epitaph with considerable human interest.

Some of the inscriptions dealt with by Mr. Syed Muhammad are of great historical importance and it would have been better to publish their facsimiles and also to give brief accounts of the careers of the personages mentioned therein.



Inscription on Pathar-ki-Masjid at Patna.



Report of Anthropological Work in 1930-31 :

VIII.—Chōṭā-Nāgpur, the Chūṭiyās and the Bhūiyās.

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

During the year ending March, 1931, besides making several tours in the different Districts of Chōṭā-Nāgpur to study the various aboriginal tribes of the Division, I made extensive tours in the Gāngpūr, Mayūrbhanj and Keōnjar States in Orissā and in the Jāshpur State of the Central Provinces to study the Bhūiyās in particular and the other aboriginal tribes of those States in general. I also paid two visits to the Indian Museum to study the additions to its ethnological and archaeological collections. A volume on the Bhūiyās of Orissā is ready for the press, but owing to financial reasons, the printing has been held up.

While preparing my monograph on the Bhūiyās of Orissā, I had to look up all available previous literature on this interesting tribe. Although I found that such literature as existed was disappointingly meagre, I came across a short article on the tribe by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, a well-known writer of this Province, in which a novel theory of the history and migrations of the Bhūiyās and, incidentally, of the origin of the name of the country now known as Chōṭā Nāgpur is propounded. That article was published in the *Modern Review* of Calcutta in the year 1907.

In that article, the learned author laid down the following propositions:—

(1) That Chōṭā Nāgpur was first colonised by the Bhūiyā tribe about the 6th century, A.D., when the Bhūiyās included or were associated with a class of 'legendary heroes' called Chūṭiās.

(2) That the Bhūiyās were worshippers of the *Nāg* or cobra, and that these legendary Chūṭiās and *Nāg*-worshipping Bhūiyās contributed to the name 'Chūṭiā Nāgpur' for the country they then ruled or dominated.

(3) That the ancestors of the present-day Mūṇḍās and Hōs or Lārkā Kōls, entered the Chōṭā Nāgpur plateau later and expelled the Bhūiyās and Chūṭiās from Chōṭā-Nāgpur, whereupon the Bhūiyās and Chūṭiās went eastwards through Mānbhum and West Bengal to East Bengal and Assam, and became the 'Bārō-Bhūiyās' of Bengal and Assam, and the Chūṭiās of Assam.

In the present paper I shall not deal with the question of the original habitat and subsequent migrations of the Bhūiyās, as this has been elaborately dealt with in my forthcoming monograph on that tribe.

I shall here discuss the different theories as to the origin and correct form of the name 'Chōṭā Nāgpur', of which Mr. Mazumdar's startling theory is the latest and most novel one.

Three different derivations have been so far given for the name of the country known as Chōṭā Nāgpur. The first and earliest and generally accepted theory is that the country came to be called 'Nāgpur' after its Nāgbamśi Rājās, and that in order to distinguish it from the more important Nāgpur of the Bhōṣlā Rājās in the adjoining 'Central Provinces', it came to be called 'Chōṭā' or the 'Lesser' Nāgpur. The second and later derivation sponsored or rather originated by Dalton and Blochmann some sixty years ago, which found favour for some time, is that the country was named after the village Chūṭiyā, a village in the suburbs of the town of Rānchi, which was once the seat of the fourth Nāgbamśi Rājā.

The third and most recent and novel theory is that advanced by Mr. Mazumdar who has attempted to support his theory by various historical, philological, and ethnological arguments. I shall attempt to show in this paper that Mr. Mazumdar's derivation of the name 'Chōṭā Nāgpur' from the 'legendary Chūṭiās' and the 'Nāg-worshipping Bhūiyās', like his attempted identification of the 'Bārō Bhūiyās' and the 'Chūṭiās' with the tribal Bhūiyās, rests on no solid foundation.

If we trace the origin and history of the name 'Chōṭā Nāgpur' or 'Chūṭiā Nāgpur' we shall find that the name is one of comparatively recent origin, and appears to have been first coined by the early British administrators of the country. The

Muhammadan rulers of India called the country as 'Kokerā' or 'Kokhrā', whereas in Hindu times it was included in Jhārkhand or the Forest Country. And it was after the British occupation of the country that the present name Chōṭā Nāgpur came into vogue.

I. 'Nāgpur', 'Chōṭā-Nāgpur' and 'Chūṭiā Nāgpur'.

The generally accepted view, which I hope to show is the correct one, is that the country came to be called Nāgpur from its present Nāgbamśi Rāj family and that it was by the earliest British officers in the country that the term Chōṭā or Chhōṭā (Little or Lesser) came to be prefixed to the name from about the latter part of the eighteenth century. This prefix was added to distinguish it from the then more famous Nāgpur of the old Bhoṣlā Rājās, which together with what is now Chōṭā Nāgpur proper was placed within the military and political jurisdiction of one and the same British officer. As late as in 1841, we find Lieutenant Tickell, then Assistant Political Agent of the Singbhum District of Chōṭā Nāgpur, in a paper contributed by him to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*¹ referring to the remains of a large city in what he calls 'Burra-Nagpoor' (or the 'Bigger Nagpur', now capital of the Central Provinces) obviously so named to distinguish it from Chōṭā Nāgpur, and speaking of Major Wilkinson as the then Resident of Burra-Nagpur. This derivation would appear to be the more probable one when we enquire into the different names by which the country has been successively known at different times.

In pre-Muhammadan times what is now Chōṭā Nāgpur was vaguely known to the Hindus as part of *Jhārkhand* or the 'Forest tract', and its people vaguely known as belonging to one or other of the classes indefinitely termed in the Purāṇas and in more ancient Sāṁskrit works as the 'Savaras', 'Puliṇ-das', 'Niṣādas'.

In Moghul times when the country first attracted the attention of the Moghul Emperors, it came to be called *Kokrāh* from the name of the Parganā and village still known as *Khūkrā*,

¹ *J.A.S.B.*, 1841 (K), p. 30.

which was then the seat of the Rājā of Chōtā Nāgpur, but by the local people it was generally called Nāgpore or Nāgpur (which presumably was the name given to it by the Rāj family). In three Muhammadan (Persian) works, the *Aini-i-Akbari*, the *Akbar-nama*, and the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (the first two written in the latter part of the sixteenth century and the last one in the first half of the 17th century) references to the country have been traced. The name by which it is mentioned in those works is *Kokrah*. In the *Akbarnama* the name *Jhārkhāṇḍ* is applied to the entire country from Birbhum and Pachet (Mānbhum) on the east to Ratanpur in Central India in the west, and from Rohtāsarh on the north-west to the frontiers of Orissā on the south-east. *Kōkrāh*, or Chōtā-Nāgpur proper, is described as 'a well-cultivated district between Orissā and the Dak'hin, ruled over by Madhu Singh', but 'inaccessible'. And the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* informs us that 'the river which flows through it yields diamonds'.

In some Persian and Urdu documents of the last century, the country is described as 'Nagpur *Khoord*' or the 'Little Nagpur' and neither Chūtiā Nāgpur nor Chōtā Nāgpur. To this day, the indigenous inhabitants of the country generally call the central plateau as simply 'Nāgpur'.

In Official Reports and other publications of the earlier years of British rule,—from the seventies of the eighteenth century down to the forties of the nineteenth century,—we find the country named generally as 'Nagpore' and in a few instances as 'Chota Nagpore' or 'Chotta Nagpur'. In a few cases also we find the name spelt as 'Chuta Nagpore' which is obviously a mis-spelling due to mispronunciation by foreigners of the word 'Chhotā' or 'little', as similar contemporaneous mis-spellings of numerous other names would appear to indicate. In some cases, as I have said, the name 'Chota Nagpore' also occurs. In one instance only to which I shall presently refer in detail the name was mis-spelt as 'Chutea Nagpur'. That 'Chuta' and 'Chutea' were mis-spellings of the word 'Chota' will be clear from the English equivalents of 'Chuta' given by some early writers as 'Little' or 'Lesser'. Since the year 1854, when Ricketts (Member of the Board of Revenue) made his tour of inspection in Chōtā Nāgpur, down to the present

day, the name has been invariably spelt first as 'Chōṭā-Nāgpore' and later as 'Chōṭā-Nāgpur' in all official papers, published as well as unpublished.

The first settlement of revenue with the then Chōṭā-Nāgpur Rājā (Drip Nath Sahi) was made on behalf of the East India Company in the year 1771 A.D. for a term of three years, and in the *Pāṭṭā* or lease granted by the Government and the *Kabuliyat* executed by the Rājā, the country was simply described as 'the Pergunnah of Nagpore'; and this name was repeated in all the successive *Pāṭṭās* and *Kabuliyats* and all Government correspondence regarding these settlements.²

The next available reference to the country that I have come across in published letters, despatches, consultations and reports of the British Government appears to be Captain Camac's letter to the Governor at Fort William at Calcutta, containing a 'narrative of the Pallamow and Nagpore countries,' dated Ramgur, 12th August, 1774. In this, too, the country is named simply as 'Nagpore'.³

James Rennell, Major of Engineers and Surveyor-General in Bengal, in sheet No. 8 in the volume of *Bengal Atlas*⁴, prepared in 1779 A.D. and published in 21 plates in the year 1781 A.D., gives the spelling of the name of the country as 'Chuta Nagpur' in the body of the map itself, and 'Chuta Nagpur' in the Dedication.

Rennell, who, as scientific explorer and topographical expert, must have taken care to see that the names are accurately recorded may be presumed to have discriminated between names differing in pronunciation however slightly. When we find him spelling the name of the country as 'Chuta Nagpur' and the name of the village (from which the country has been

² *Vide Papers Relating to Chota-Nagpur Agrarian Disputes* (Published by the Bengal Government), Part I, pp. 53 ff, and also Part II, and *Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government*, No. XX.

³ *Selections from the Letters, Despatches and other State Papers*, preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India (1772-1785), Edited by G. W. Forrest, Vol. I, pp. 1 and 5 (1890).

⁴ *Map of the Conquered Province on the South of Bahar containing Ramgur, Palamow and Chuta-Nagpur*, prepared in 1779.

supposed by some later writers to have derived its name) as 'Chutteah', we may be justified in thinking that in his time, at any rate, the country was not known as either 'Chutteah Nagpur' or 'Chutiya Nagpur' or 'Chutea Nagpur'. The spelling 'Chuta' would appear to represent a foreigner's mispronunciation of the name 'Chōṭā'. In the same map of Chōṭā-Nāgpur we find 'Doorma' for 'Dorma', 'Suunpour' for 'Sonpur', and so forth.

The next published official report is the *Fifth Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company* which was prepared and signed in 1789 and published in London in 1812. In the body of the Report⁵ itself, there is no mention of Chōṭā Nāgpur but only of 'Ramghur' in which District it was then included; and in the Minutes and Resolutions, it is named simply as 'Nagpore'. But in Appendix No. 4, which is headed 'Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Finances of Bengal' prepared by Mr. James Grant,⁶ we read, "Pacheet, bounded by Chutea, Nagpoor and Ramgur, the southern districts dependent on the Soubah of Bahar".⁷ And in the Supplement to the 'Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Finances of Bengal, from the Moghul conquest to the present time', Mr. Grant writes:—"A third, and elevated adjoining region, still further to the south, forms a part of Soubah Behar, no less extensive than either of the former, as containing near 18,000 square miles, though proportionably of very inconsiderable value. This highland district, including the modern Subdivisions of Palamow, Ramgur, and Chutea Nagpoor, bounded on the east by Bengal, hath since the age of Ptolemy been geographically named the three Bellads or Cantons in Arabic, and from which its modern denomination of Velyat, may be either a corruption if not derived from another root of the same language, modified to express a foreign dependent Government.

"It is also, sometimes generally described under the appellation of *Kokerah*, more commonly called *Nagpoor*, from

⁵ *Fifth Report* (Reprinted by Higginbotham & Co., Madras, 1883), Vol. I, pp. 1-98 contain the Report on the Finances of Bengal.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 221-554.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

the diamond mines of that place, as giving most importance to the country, making part of the same mountainous tract of land, barren in almost everything except the most precious jewels in the world; and extending in a devious southerly course from Panna in Budelcund, to Kanjecotah and Golconda; yet perhaps this portion of unfruitful territory might still be more interestingly distinguished, by delineating the character of its inhabitants, who are undoubtedly an original savage race, differing extremely in appearance, religion, language and manners, from the Hindu lowlanders of Hindustan, and whose possession altogether being poor, or thinly peopled, have scarcely ever yielded to the State a revenue exceeding two *lacks* and a half of rupees.”⁸

And again, “Mokhareje or dismemberment of the following Districts and Pergunnahs from their respective Circars, viz., Behar, 5 mehals of Palamow, *Kokerah*, etc.—Rupees 1,09,615.”⁹

Another paragraph reads as follows:—“20 Five do. (pergs.), dismembered or reduced in stating the annual jumma-bandī, viz., 3 pergunnahs of Palamow, etc., 2 mahals of Sultan Gunge, and the *Kokerah*, together rated for original rent.... 4,78,276.”¹⁰

When we find that James Grant in his ‘Analysis’ spells ‘Rajepoot’ for ‘Rajput’ (p. 513), ‘Rajeshay’ for ‘Rajshahi’ (p. 264), ‘*Kokerah*’ for ‘Khukra’ (p. 513), ‘Rajeboolub’ for ‘Rajballav’ (p. 264), it is clear that the infix ‘e’ in ‘Chutea Nagpoor’ must be a mis-spelling for ‘Chuta-Nagpur’ (meaning ‘the Lesser Nagpur’). In the text of the Fifth Report of the Select Committee itself, we meet with any number of the same infixing of the letter ‘e’. Thus we have ‘Bhauglepore’ for ‘Bhagalpur’ (pp. 34, 52, 87), ‘Bundlecund’ for ‘Bundelkhand’ (p. 52), ‘Rajskoomars’ for ‘Raj-kumars’ (p. 61), ‘Dinagepur’ for ‘Dinajpur’ (pp. 73, 87, 664), ‘Rajeshaye’ for ‘Rajshahi’ (pp. 71, 73, 87), ‘*Kokerah*’ for ‘Khukra’ (p. 543) and so forth. Further, it may be noted that when Chotā-Nāgpur itself is dealt with, both Grant and the Select

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 502-503.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 510.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 513.

Committee spell it as Kokerah (with a superfluous 'e' inserted in the middle).

Appendix No. 5 of the same volume (pages 555-635) is the "Minute of Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Shore, on the Permanent Settlement of the lands in Bengal, and proposed Resolutions thereon, recorded on the 18th September, 1789". In this, too, the country is named only as 'Nagpore'. Thus, in paragraph 135 (page 576) of Shore's minute, we read,—"*Nagpore*.—For the explanations assigned by the Collector, in his letter of June the 20th, 1789, I concur in opinion with him, that the Regulations should not extend to this District." Finally, in the amended Resolutions as proposed by Mr. Shore and passed by the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council on the 18th September, 1789, the name used is again 'Nagpore'. It runs:—" *Nagpore*.—That the Regulations do not extend to this District, but that the settlement be continued on the present footing and be extended to a period of ten years."

Dr. Francis Buchanan (afterwards Buchanan Hamilton), who was for some time Superintendent of the Honourable East India Company's Botanic Garden at Calcutta, was appointed to make a statistical survey of Bengal. Although he did not live to make a survey of Chōṭā-Nāgpur itself, he incidentally refers to the country as simply 'Nagpur' in his *Shahabad Journal*.¹¹

Walter Hamilton in his *Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindostan*¹², describes the country under the heading 'Chuta Nagpoor (*Little Nagpoor*)' and writes:—"This sub-division of Bahar, is designated by the term *Chuta* (*little*) to distinguish it from the other Nagpoor possessed by the Bhoonslah Maharatta family, and the name

¹¹ *Vide Shahabad Journal*, published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XI, pp. 281, 288-290. The names given at the end of the quotation are the authorities whom Hamilton consulted. Roughsedge went to Chota-Nagpur in 1808 'to reduce the Raja to a proper state of subjection' and was appointed 'Political Agent' in 1819. Sealy was Magistrate of the District and Broughton was in charge of military expeditions to and through Chota-Nagpur.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 240—Second Edition (1928), p. 415.

(Nagpoor) indicates that in the opinion of the natives the territory contains diamonds.....(Roughsedge, Sealy, Col. Broughton,¹³ etc.)” In his general account of the Province of Bahar (Bihar), he gives the following description of Chōṭā-Nāgpur:—“Still further to the south there is a third and elevated region, containing 18,000 square miles, though proportionately of considerable value. The highland includes the modern sub-division of Palamow, Ramghur, and Chuta Nagpoor, bounded on the west by the Soubah of Allahabad, by Gundwana and Orissa, and on the east by Bengal. The last division is geographically termed the three Bellads or Cantons, as is also sometimes described, under the appellation of Kokerah, but more commonly Nagpoor, from the diamond mines it contains, or is supposed to contain”. Although this passage is evidently borrowed in part from Grant’s *Analysis*, Hamilton does not follow the incorrect infixing of an ‘e’ in ‘Chuta’.

The same spelling and the same explanation of the name is repeated in Hamilton’s *East India Gazetteer*, first published in 1915.

Thornton in his *Gazetteer* published in 1854, describes the country under the heading ‘Chuta Nagpore or Nagpore the Lesser’.

In official correspondence, reports and despatches from the beginning of British rule up till now the country is never called ‘Chutia Nagpoor’ or ‘Chutia Nagpur’ or ‘Chutea Nagpur’.

With the kind permission of the Commissioner of the Chota-Nagpur Division, I searched all the old records in his record-room from the beginning of British rule up to date, and in not a single letter, report, or despatch, I found the name spelt as ‘Chootiah’, or ‘Chutiya’ or ‘Chutia’. In almost all the earlier official correspondence, reports, despatches, etc., down to the year 1831 and, in some, after that, the country is named as ‘Nagpore’ or ‘District of Nagpore’, except in three instances, namely, in (1) letter dated 24th March, 1808, from E. R. Roughsedge, Captain, Commanding Ramgar Battalion to C. S.

¹³ *Gazetteer of the Territories under the East India Company*, Vol. II, p. 366.

Sealy, Esqr., Magistrate of Ramgar, (2) letter dated 8th June, 1808, and (3) letter dated October 27th, 1808, the last two being addressed to the Secretary to Government from E. Roughsedge, Captain, Commanding Ramgarh Battalion.

In the last letter of these in which Captain Roughsedge says that the authority of the British Government remains yet to be established in 'Choota Nagpore', the name, as we see, is spelt as '*Choota Nagpore*'. And it is interesting to note that in over half a dozen instances, prior to 1832, the name came to be spelt as '*Chota Nagpore*'. These are: (1) Letter dated 13th January, 1819, from G. French, Magistrate of Ramgur to Major E. Roughsedge, Commanding in Sambulpore; (2) Letter from Secretary to Government to the Acting Collector of Ramgur relating to the recovery of arrears due from the Raja of 'Chota Nagpur'; (3) Letter dated the 24th March, 1808, to C. S. Sealy, Esqr., Magistrate of Ramgur from E. Roughsedge, Captain, Commanding Ramgur Battalion; (4) Letter dated the 13th January, 1819, from G. French, Magistrate of Ramgur to Major Roughsedge, Commanding in Sambalpur, and (5) Letter dated 15th April, 1819 to Major Roughsedge, Political Agent to the Government, from G. French, Esqr., Magistrate of Zillah Ramgur who informs that "No disturbances occurred in the pargunnah of '*Chota-Nagpur*' whilst I was on deputation in that part of my district"; (6) Letter dated 21st April, 1819 from G. French, Esqr., Magistrate of Ramgur to Major E. Roughsedge, Commanding in Sambalpur; (7) Letter dated the 24th December, 1823 to Government from Major Gilbert (who writes that in 1809 Major Roughsedge was employed in special service in '*Chota Nagpore*').

Thus, we find the country generally named 'Nagpore' or 'Chuta Nagpore' and occasionally 'Chota Nagpur' till the year 1831. But from 1832 onwards we find the name generally written as 'Chota-Nagpur' and sometimes only as 'Nagpore'. In the year 1832, we find J. Thomason, Deputy Secretary to Government writing to W. Dent, Esqr., on the 12th April, (letter No. 970) informing him:—'The Vice-President in Council is pleased to appoint you to be a Joint Commissioner in concert with Captain T. Wilkinson, for the Settlement of the affairs of

Chota-Nagpur and Palamow'. In that year with the exception of three letters (dated, respectively, the 5th June, the 3rd July and the 27th July) in which we find the name spelt as '*Choota Nagpoor*' and one (dated the 12th June, 1832) in which it is spelt as '*Chotta Nagpur*' and one dated 24th May, 1832, in which it is spelt as '*Chootah Nagpoor*' in the address but '*Chota Nagpoor*' in the text of the letter, all other letters and despatches of that year and following years that I have examined (several scores in number) spell the name as '*Chota Nagpur*'.

By Regulation XIII of 1833, the administration of the Parganas of '*Chota Nagpur*, Palamau, Karukdiha, Ramgur, Koruda, Dhalbhum, and portions of Jungle Mahalas' was vested in a new officer designated the 'Governor-General's Agent for the South-Western Frontier Agency' and what is now the Ranchi District came to be designated as the Lohardaga District for which a Principal Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent was appointed and stationed at Lohardaga. Although the official name of the District was changed to 'Lohardaga', we find it still named as either 'Nagpore' or 'Chota Nagpore' in many official documents during the administrative period known as the South-Western Frontier Agency Period. This period lasted from 1834 to 1854, after which the Chota Nagpur Commissionership was created. Of the two well-known official Reports about the history and land-tenures of Chota-Nagpur, one written in 1827 by Cuthbert¹⁴ the then Magistrate of the District, and the other in 1839 by Dr. Davidson¹⁵ the then Principal Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent for Chota Nagpur, the former generally calls it 'Chota Nagpoor', although, in places, the simple name 'Nagpoor' is also used and the latter calls the country simply as 'Nagpoor'.

In 1853-54, Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Ricketts, the then Member of the Board of Revenue, made an extensive tour of inspection in the Districts of the then South-Western Frontier Agency including Chota Nagpur, and his report on what is now the Ranchi District is headed 'Chota-Nagpore'. This Report was published by Government in 1855, in the *Selections from*

¹⁴ *Chota-Nagpore Agrarian Reports, Part II*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁵ *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society*, Vol. VII, pp. 1-34.

the *Records of the Bengal Government*. Ricketts' Report on 'Chota Nagpore' begins thus :—"The Lohardugga Division of Chota Nagpore comprises an area of about 7,346 square miles and contains 6,78,759 inhabitants. It contains but two Estates, —Nagpore, the property of the Nagpore Rajah, and Palamow, the property of the Government, purchased at a sale for arrears of revenue in 1813".¹⁶ Of the cultivators of the District, Ricketts writes :—"The cultivators are, generally speaking, Coles (Moondceas, Kureas and Oorwans) and among them some may be found equal in intelligence to the Mahomedans and Hindus of the Bihar Districts, and in diligence and honesty their superiors".¹⁷ The lengthening of the vowel-sound as seen in spelling of the word 'Mundas' with the insertion of two 'e's as 'Moondceas', the spelling 'Ooraons' for 'Oraons' and 'Kureas' for 'Kharias' is worth noting in this connection.

Mr. Ricketts' Report was followed, probably as a consequence, by the abolition of the South-Western Frontier Agency and the creation, by Act XX of 1854, of the Commissionership of *Chota Nagpur*. And ever since then the country has been uniformly designated as 'Chota Nagpur' in all official documents.

In an article 'On the Antiquities of Sarguja and its neighbourhood' in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XVII (1848), Lieutenant-Colonel J. R. Ouseley, Governor-General's Agent for the South-Western Frontier, spells the name as 'Chota Nagpore'. Mr. Justice Campbell in his '*Ethnology of India*', first published as a Supplementary Number of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*¹⁸ also spells the name as 'Chota Nagpore'. And in all Government publications, the same spelling occurs.

It was for the first time in 1866 that Dalton, in an article headed 'The Kols of Chota Nagpur', though designating himself as 'Commissioner of *Chota Nagpur*', first incidentally suggested the name 'Chuttia Nagpore'. In the heading and also in the body of that article, however, he throughout spells the

¹⁶ *Selection from the Records of the Bengal Government*, No. XX. *Chota-Nagpore*, p. I. Palamow has been since constituted into a separate District of the Chota Nagpur Division.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁸ Vol. XXXV, Pt. II, p. 26.

name as 'Chota Nagpore', but the article opens as follows: 'The country called Chota (or properly Chuttia) Nagpore is the eastern portion of the extensive plateau of Central India'. In the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1869*, Babu Rakhal Das Haldar, Special Commissioner, contributes 'Notes on a Copper-plate Inscription in the possession of certain Kols at (Chota) Nagpur', and in the body of the 'Notes' he uniformly spells the name as 'Chota Nagpur'. In 1870, the geologist Mr. V. Ball, who made extensive tours in the country spelt the name as 'Chota Nagpur'¹⁹.

It was in 1871 that, for the first time, we find the name spelt as 'Chutia-Nagpur' in three articles in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for that year,—one headed *Notes for Muhammadan Historians on Chutia Nagpur* by H. Blochmann, Esqr., M.A., a second, headed *Rude Stone Monuments in Chutia Nagpur and other Places*, by Colonel E. T. Dalton, and a third, headed *Notes on Three Inscriptions on Stone found in Chutia Nagpur*, by Babu Rakhal Das Haldar (who was an official subordinate and literary follower of Dalton). The suggestion probably emanated from Dalton and was developed by Blochmann who was a geographer and who received certain information (as he himself says) from Colonel Dalton. In justification of his novel spelling, Blochmann writes: 'The Fifth Report on Bengal Finances under the East India Company by Grant, or, as he liked to style himself, Sarishtadar Grant, has still Chutea Nagpur; on Rennel's maps, we find Chuta Nagpoor, and only in modern times, do we find "Chota Nagpur" as if it was the "Lesser Nagpur", in contradistinction to the Nagpur of the Central Provinces. But Chutia (near the modern Ranchi) was the residence of the old Rajahs, and was selected as capital by the fourth in descent from Phani Mukuta, "the serpent crowned", the legendary ancestor of the Chutia Nagvansi Rajahs. Abul Fazal calls Chutia Nagpur by its old name, Kokrah..... Grant also uses the name Kokera as an equivalent for Chutia Nagpur'²⁰.

¹⁹ *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1870, p. 268.

²⁰ *Asiatic Society's Journal, Bengal*, Vol. XL., Pt. I, pp. 112-13.

I have already pointed out that in Grant's *Analysis* appended to the famous *Fifth Report* the spelling 'Chutea' was obviously a mis-spelling, as we find several other wrong insertions of the letter 'e' in other Indian proper names used by him. And thus Sherishtadar Grant's orthography can be no authority for Blochmann's assertion that the true name of the country was 'Chutia' Nagpore. Nor does Blochmann disclose his authority for the assertion that "the name Chota Nagpur is known to be an English corruption of Chutia Nagpore, and that the name is derived from village Chutia near the modern Ranchi which was temporarily the seat of one of the former Rajas of Chota Nagpur". Blochmann is not known to have ever visited Chota Nagpur or Ranchi, as neither did Sherishtadar Grant. Khukra ('Kokhera' of the Mahomedan writers and of Mr. Grant himself) had been the seat of the Rājās of Chōtā-Nāgpur for several generations and it was still the capital when the Mahomedan rulers of Delhi first came in contact with the country which ever since then came to be known to the Mahomedan rulers as 'Khukra' (mis-spelt 'Kokera' or 'Kokhra') and to the Mahomedan and Early British rulers as both Khukra or 'Kokerah' and more commonly as 'Nagpur'. Although the Rājā's seat was removed from Khukra to another place called Doesa about the year 1685 A.D., and thence again successively to Bharno and Palkote where the first British officers found the Rājā's seat, the name 'Kokrah' or 'Kokerah' was officially employed until the beginning of the British Government. The first British officers simply used the name 'Nagpoor'. It is significant that it is only after the advent of the British Government who employed one and the same officer as Political Agent for the South-Western Frontier Agency whose jurisdiction extended from Chōtā Nāgpur to part of the Central Provinces that the name Chōtā-Nāgpur came to be first applied to what was till then known simply as 'Nagpur' in order to distinguish it from the more important Nagpur in the Central Provinces. I have already noted that we find the name 'Burra Nagpoor' sometimes applied in official documents to Nagpur in the Central Provinces.

As we have seen, it was Dalton who, though in his earlier writings he spelt the name as 'Chota Nagpur', first suggested, in 1866, that the proper spelling should be 'Chutia Nagpur', but did not then adopt that spelling himself. He was obviously strengthened in his view by the opinion of the geographer Blochmann, and in his subsequent contributions to Journals and in his *Ethnology of Bengal* he boldly adopted the new spelling. And Blochmann and Dalton were blindly followed by some other distinguished writers such as the geologist Ball, the historian Hunter, and the ethnologist Risley. The authors of the *Ranchi Settlement Report* (1914) and of the *Ranchi District Gazetteer* (1917), though they spell the name as 'Chōṭā Nāgpur', suggest, without assigning any reasons, that the derivation of the name from village 'Chutia' may be probable. The author of the *District Gazetteer* is mistaken in thinking that Chutia 'is reputed to be the original home of the Nagbansi Chiefs', for the reputed original home was a village named Sutiambē, and he himself notes at page 260 of the *Gazetteer*, that 'Sutiambe is said to have been the seat of the family for four generations, the fourth Raja, Partab Rai, moving to Chutia, but the traces of an ancient palace (*i.e.*, at Sutiambē) appear to indicate a longer period of occupation'.

Thus, all available evidence points to 'Chōṭā Nāgpur' and not 'Chutia Nagpur', being the proper and correct spelling of the name of the country which until the British occupation of the country and for some time after it, was simply called 'Nagpur'. It may be noted that the indigenous inhabitants of the Rānchi District still call the country as simply 'Nāgpūr'.

However that may be, whether Grant's orthography of the name was a mis-spelling due to mispronunciation by a foreigner who never visited Chōṭā-Nāgpur, and the generally accepted derivation of the name as 'Chōṭa' or 'Lesser' Nāgpur be correct, or whether Blochmann's spelling and his derivation of the name from village 'Chuṭiā' be correct, neither of the two derivations would go to support Mr. Mazumdar's derivation of the name from a legendary class of heroes of the name of 'Chutias' and the 'Nag-worshipping Bhuiyas'. This derivation

has neither history nor tradition nor folk-etymology in its favour.

II. *The Chūṭiās, the Bhūiyās, and Chōṭa-Nāgpur.*

Mr. B. C. Mazumdar has opined that the Bhūiyās with the Chūṭiās were the earliest inhabitants of Chōṭā Nāgpur, and that the Mūṇḍās pushed them from the central plateau (Rānchi District) of Chōṭā Nāgpur to Mānbhum whence some sections of them went to Bengal and Assam²¹, and the Hōs or the Lārkā Kōls pushed the remaining sections from Singbhum in the south of Chōṭā Nāgpur to Utkala or Ōṛissā. This account of the early history of Chōṭā Nāgpur and the past migrations of the Bhūiyās would appear to be as unfounded and untenable as the supposed derivation of the name of Chōṭā Nāgpur from the Chūṭiās and the Bhūiyās.

Within my thirty years of investigation into the ethnology of the different tribes of Chōṭā Nāgpur I have never heard of any mention of the name of a tribe or a class of 'heroes' of the name of Chūṭiās, except that among the several hundred clans or septs into which the Mūṇḍā tribe is divided, there is an insignificant clan of the name of *Chutiā* (small rat). It is worth noting that in the list of clan names of the Mūṇḍās given in the Family Annals the Nāgbamśi family the Chūṭiā clan is not mentioned at all, nor is there any mention of the Bhūiyās²². I do not know if Mr. Mazumdar had in his mind the legend referred to by me in *The Mūṇḍās and Their Country*²³ which speaks of the appointment of one Sutiā Mūṇḍā as the tribal headman or *Pradhan* (corrupted into *Pāhān*, meaning 'priest') of the tribe during their migrations and their settlement on the Chōṭā Nāgpur plateau, then infested with *Nāg* (cobra) snakes which they destroyed, and thereafter the country coming to be named as *Sutiā Nāg Khand* after their legendary leader Sutiā Pāhān. After giving two other more genuine traditions of their

²¹ *Modern Review* for 1907, pp.

Aborigines of Central India, p. 31.

²² See *Man in India*, Vol. VIII, pp. 259-293.

²³ *Appendix I*, p. xii.

migrations, I cited that legend, for what it was worth, with these words of preface:—‘More ambitious, though obviously *less authentic*, is the following legend which was communicated to us by a Muṇḍā convert to Christianity....The influence of a knowledge of Bible History and of the early European accounts of the Kolarian tribes is patent on the face of the legend’. It might be added that the inveterate attitude of the Mūṇḍās to harp on their lost proprietary rights in their country is partly responsible for portions of the legend which I then merely characterised as its ‘excrescences’ such as the origin of the name of the country. But even in this legend there is no mention of any tribe or sub-tribe of the name of Chūṭiās. Nor, as I said, is there any tradition whatsoever among the Mūṇḍās or the Nāgbamśi Rāj family²⁴ of Chōṭā Nāgpur or, in fact, amongst any section of the population of Chōṭā Nāgpur, of the past dominance or even existence (apart from the name of an insignificant Munda clan) of any tribe of the name of Chūṭiās in the country.

Nor does there appear to be any justification for the view that the Bhūiyās occupied the Chōṭā Nāgpur plateau before the Mūṇḍās entered the plateau.

I do not know what reasons Mr. Mazumdar has for his assertion that the Bhūiyās and Chūṭiās had established their sovereignty over ‘Chūṭiā Nāgpur’ and that the Mūṇḍās and Lārka Kōls agree in their tradition that they established their colonies by driving out the Bhūiyās. This may, to some extent, be true of the Hōs in the western and southern parts of the Singbhum District, which adjoin the Ōṛissā States of Keoñjhar and Mayurbhanj. But so far as Chōṭā Nāgpur proper or the central plateau or the Rānchi District is concerned, the uniform traditions of the Mūṇḍās speak of an ancient and powerful race called the Asūrs²⁵ as having occupied the country before the

²⁴ Risley in his *Tribes and Castes* (Vol. II, pp. 102–9) gives a list of as many as 339 sept or clan names, but even those are by no means exhaustive. I have collected a number of additional clan names.

²⁵ *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, I, 229 ff., VI, 393 ff., X.

Mūṇḍās came, and their male population as having been destroyed by a stratagem by the Mūṇḍās. Many Mūṇḍās whom I have questioned about it resent the suggestion that the Bhūiyās occupied the country before them. And even the Bhūiyā families now living on the Chōṭā Nāgpur plateau do not lay any claim to have been the original reclaimers of the soil there, much less to any predominance in the land in the past.

All investigators and authoritative writers on the subject such as Dalton²⁶, Hunter²⁷ and Risley²⁸ are unanimously agreed on the priority of the Mūṇḍā occupation of Chōṭā Nāgpur plateau. In the *Settlement Report of the Rānchi District* (1902-10)²⁹ we read, 'There is no doubt that the Mūṇḍās were the first comers'. So too in the *District Gazetteer* (1917) of Rānchi³⁰ we are told, 'There is little or no doubt that the Mūṇḍās were the first to come'. The traditions of all the tribes and castes, including the Bhūiyās, of the Rānchi District or the central plateau of Chōṭā Nāgpur agree in attributing to the present tribe of Mūṇḍās the foundation of its earliest villages after the extermination or absorption of the pre-historic Asuras. The Bhūiyā families now found in the Rānchi District name either the Singbhūm District or the Hāzāribāgh District as their ancestral home. One very strong argument against the Bhūiyā dominance in the Central plateau of Chōṭā Nāgpur anterior to its occupation by the Mūṇḍās is to be found in the fact that although there are now some Bhūiyā families scattered in different parts of the plateau, no Bhūiyā is employed as a priest to appease the village spirits, or credited with any special magical powers. In fact, such Bhūiyās as are still found in the district generally occupy a very low social position there. All field-workers in Chōṭā Nāgpur ethnology know that its animistic tribes almost invariably employ the present-day descendants of the earliest known inhabitants of a village to propitiate the village spirits.

²⁶ *Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 163 ff.

²⁷ *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XVI.

²⁸ *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*.

²⁹ *Final Report of Survey and Settlement in the District of Ranchi*, p. 13.

³⁰ p. 21.

By virtue of their being the original settlers, they are considered to have the best knowledge of local spirits and, as such, to be the most competent persons to propitiate or control them. This is why even in Orāon villages which may contain a single family of its old Mūṇḍā founders, the priestly functions must be performed by a member of such Mūṇḍā family. Similarly, in some of the Ōrissā States, where the Bhūiyās are among the earliest settlers, we find the Bhūiyās officiating as priests of certain ancient shrines.

Thus, Mr. Mazumdar's statement that the Bhūiyās were 'the first batch of immigrants of Chōtā Nāgpur' has no foundation except perhaps with regard to its southernmost district of Singbhum.

After asserting that the Bhūiyā tribe formed 'the first batch of Mūṇḍā immigrants in Chōtā Nāgpur', Mr. Mazumdar goes on to say,—“What is most interesting to us is that [at] the time when these things happened, Kokra was the old local name of Chutia Nagpur, and in Hindu Purans of very late date we find this tract included in what is called Jharkhanda. The name Chutia Nagpur is traced to the tribal name of the legendary heroes—the Chutias who once conquered the country. That once the Chutias had a dominating influence there cannot be doubted. We do not find these Chutias, who impressed their name indelibly on the country, throughout the length and breadth of Chutia-Nagpur..... The Chutias, one may naturally infer, must have been driven away from their old home by the Mundas”. Again, “The Chutias and Nag-worshippers gave the new name to the country called Jharkhand by the Hindus”. And again,—“Like the Mundas, the Bhuiyas of all the different sects claim to belong to *Nag-Vamsa*..... Under no circumstances will a Bhuiya kill a snake of the Nag species (cobra)”.

Mr. Mazumdar has not explained how the present Rāj family of Chōtā-Nāgpur happens to be a Nāg-worshipping Nāgbamśi. The fact that both the Nāgbamśis and the Bhūiyās venerate the Nāg or cobra serpent and claim to belong to the 'Nāgbamś' may prove anything. Many other tribes and castes in India venerate the cobra. If Mr. Mazumdar means to

attribute a Bhūiyā origin to the Nāgbamśi Rāj family, because Dalton³¹ writes that 'the Raja of Chutia Nagpur is of Kol extraction', it may be pointed out that Dalton as well as other authorities, such as the ethnologists Risley³² and Russel³³, competent observers like G. K. Webster,³⁴ I.C.S., and Rakhal Das Haldar,³⁵ B.C.S., both of whom were Managers of the Chotā Nāgpur Rājā's Estate, assign a Mūṇḍārī origin to the ancestor of the Nāgbamśi family and not a distinctively Bhūiyā origin. True, Buchanan³⁶ assigned a Cherō origin for the family, but the Cherōs have not been proved to have included the Bhūiyās, though both are branches of the great Kōl race.

But whether the Nāgbamśi Rāj family might have been Mūṇḍās or Cherōs or even Bhūiyās in origin, or whether future research may find some other origin for them, it does not help Mr. Mazumdar in proving his proposition. For, according to his theory, the Bhūiyās, both Rājā and subjects, were expelled from the country by the Mūṇḍās by about the tenth or eleventh century, if not later, and gave place to a new regime, though the old name which the Nāg-worshipping Bhūiyās and their supposed confederates the Chūṭiās gave to the country remained.

Mr. Mazumdar has fallen into error not only as to the origin of the present name 'Chōṭā Nāgpur', but also as to the time when the change in the name was introduced. As we have seen, the name Chōṭā Nāgpur was unknown when according to Mr. Mazumdar the Bhūiyās and the Chūṭiās were the dominant people in Chōṭā Nāgpur. In fact, that name was unknown even during the subsequent long centuries of Mūṇḍā predominance or even of Nāgbamśi supremacy. In fact, it was after the British occupation of the country that we first hear of the present name 'Chōṭā Nāgpur' or as Mr. Mazumdar would spell it 'Chutia-Nagpur'.

It would appear that Mr. Mazumdar has attempted to reverse the correct chronology or sequence of the successive

³¹ *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 162.

³² *Castes and Tribes*, Vol.

³³ *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. IV, pp. 455-6.

³⁴ *Papers Relating to Chota-Nagpur Agrarian Reports*, Pt. II, pp. 33-34.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

³⁶ *Martin's Eastern India*, Vol. II, pp. 460-61.

names by which the country has been known. The name 'Kokera' or Khūkrā was not known before Moghul times, the name Chōṭā Nāgpur not before British times and the name Nāgpur not before the present Nāgbahāsi Rāj family became supreme in the land which was long after the Mūṇḍās first came to the country. And neither his legendary Chūṭiās nor the Bhūiyās, much less the predecessors of the 'Bāro-Bhūiyās' had anything to do with Chōṭā Nāgpur or its nomenclature. Thus, Mr. Mazumdar's identification of the Bhūiyās with either the Chūṭiyās of Assam or of the Bārō-Bhūiyās of Bengal and Assam, is highly improbable and, like his derivation of the name 'Chutia Nagpur', has neither history nor tradition nor folk-etymology in its favour.

Of the Chūṭiās, Dalton tells us,—“About the eighth century of our era the Hindu dynasty (on the valley of the Bramhaputra) was overthrown by the Chutia or Kachari hordes”³⁷. “The Chutia or Kachari dynasty continued to hold southern Upper Assam and Sadiya and part of Nagaon (Nowgong), where they built a fortified city called Dimapur; but about the middle of the thirteenth century of the Christian era they were subjugated by hordes of Shans from the South.”³⁸ Again, “I have pointed out the remarkable linguistic affinities between the Chutia and Bodo or Kachari, and this tradition of their having been driven from Upper Assam by the Ahoms is confirmatory of the common origin of the two races, and the expulsion alluded to must mean the conquest of the Chutia”³⁹. Sir Edward Gait⁴⁰ to whose work Mr. Mazumdar refers, writes, “The Chutiyas now number about a twelfth of a million, and are found chiefly in Lakhimpur and the adjacent part of Sibsagar. Their language, which is still known to the Deoris or priestly section of the tribe, is unmistakably Bodo, but their appearance suggests that they absorbed considerable numbers of the earlier immigrants of that race, just as in more recent times they have intermarried with the Ahoms”.

Again, “The Chutias have numerous traditions, all of which point to their having followed a Hindu dynasty in

³⁷ *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 81.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁴⁰ *History of Assam* (2nd Edition, 1926), p. 40.

Sadiya or Vidarbha..... The Chutiya legends are full of all sorts of improbable absurdities which it would be useless to repeat, and it is questionable how far even the main incidents which are summarised below, represent real facts. All that we know is that the Chutiya kings were reigning at Sadiya at the beginning of thirteenth century, that there were frequent wars between them and the Ahoms, who finally overthrew them and subverted their kingdom in the early part of the sixteenth century".⁴¹ Sadiya, in the North-Eastern Frontier of Assam is, as Endle informs us, 'the earliest known centre of Chutiya (Kachari) power and civilisation'. Their language belongs to the Boḍo⁴² group of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of the Tibeto-Chinese family of languages; their features approximate very closely to the Mongolian type, and Tibet and China are believed to have been their original home⁴³. Tradition names 'Suvarṇa Giri or the Golden Hill' in the mountains to the north of modern Sadiya as the home of the founder of the Chūṭiā kingdom.⁴⁴ The present scattered condition of the Chūṭiās is attributed by Endle to the 'Machiavellian policy of the Ahom rulers' who thus distributed the subjugated race 'in order finally to break up the power of the Chutiyas'.⁴⁵

In all the traditions of Chūṭiā origin given in Gait's *History* and Endle's *Kacharis* and in W. B. Brown's *Deori-Chutya Grammar*, one seeks in vain for any hint of the Chūṭiās having ever been in Chōṭā Nāgpur or anywhere near it. And, as I have said, there is no tradition to that effect among the Mūṇḍās or any other people of Chōṭā Nāgpur.

In further support of his theory Mr. Mazumdar next seeks the evidence of language and writes,—“It is again very curious that some words which are not at all Sanskritic in origin, and are in use in Sambalpuri Oriya are also in use in the far-off valley of Assam, while they are unknown in the intervening province of Bengal”. He then gives a list of the following eleven words:—

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

⁴² Endle, *The Kacharis* (Macmillan, 1911), pp. 4-6.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

1 *Jui* (fire), 2 *Au* (an acid fruit), 3 *Karchali* (ladle), 4 *Oda* (wet), 5 *Guda* (dust), 6 *Olag* (bowing down), 7 *topa* (drop), 8 *Dang* (a stick), 9 *Phal* (a portion or side of a thing), 10 *Opra* (unnecessary thing) and 11 *Mealiha* (to get a thing).

Most of these words are, as Mr. Mazumdar must admit, common in Bengali. And as for all of them, the fact that they resemble Ōṛiyā words used in Sambalpur does not help Mr. Mazumdar's argument. Most of them are clearly derived from Sanskrit both in Ōṛiyā and in Assamese as in Bengali. And for the rest, they may be either fortuitous phonetic coincidences, or may have been derived from some common Prākṛit words, now obsolete.

It may further be pointed out that *Karchhul* is a common word in Eastern Hindusthani for a 'ladle'.⁴⁶ In Bihari Hindi there is a word *Juhi*⁴⁷ meaning 'a kind of fireworks'. The word '*dang*'⁴⁸ is a Hindi word used in East Tirhut and Patna to mean 'a short stick'. The word *mealiha* would appear to have affinity with Hindi *milna*, to get (a thing) and Bengali *mela*, to get (a thing).

If any authority is needed, reference may be made to Prof. Jogesh Chandra Ray's *Bangala Sabda-Kosh* (Bengali Dictionary). There we find, *kar-chuli* is given as meaning 'ladle', and derived from Sanskrit *kar*, hand and *chalu*, to move⁴⁹; '*odā*' as only a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word '*ārdra*', meaning 'wet'; *gūḍā* as meaning, powder or dust, and derived from Sanskrit *gūṇḍak* which in Bengali is corrupted into *gūṇḍā* or *gūṇā*⁵⁰; *ṭopā* has the same meaning ('drop') in Bengali and is derived from Sanskrit *sphūt* (by metathesis)⁵¹; *ḍāṅg*, meaning a 'stick' is derived from Sanskrit '*ḍaṇḍa*'⁵²; the word '*phāl*' is the same as Bengali *phāli*⁵³, an elongated portion or side of a thing, and is derived from Prakrit Sanskrit root *phāl*, meaning 'to split'; *ōprā* is a variant of Bengali *ūpri*⁵⁴ meaning 'extra' or superfluous, from Sanskrit *upari*, high.

⁴⁶ Grierson, *Behar Peasant Life* (2nd Edition, 1926), p. 60.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴⁹ *Bangala Sabda-Kosh*, p. 107.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 389.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 609.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

Ōriyā is not the original language of the Bhūiyās; and, further, such Bhūiyās as still live in Chōṭā Nāgpur speak Chōṭa Nāgpūri Hindi and not Sambalpurī Ōriyā, and according to Mr. Mazumdar's theory, it is the Chōṭā Nāgpuri Bhūiyās who emigrated to Assam not *via* Ōṛissā or Sambalpur but *via* Mānbhum and Bengal. And as for the Chūṭiās of Assam, they are now a bilingual people, whose mother-tongue is not Assamese but Chūṭiā which belongs to the Tibeto-Chinese linguistic family.

Mr. Mazumdar's next philological argument is based on the resemblance of two Ahom words similar to Ōriyā words. He writes, 'In Ahom, "mau-pu" is wife's sister, and this meaning has not been shown to be Mongolian in origin. The word "mau-po" or "mai-po" has the meaning "wife" in Ōriyā. "Aoshaw" is a Oriya word which means "shampooing". The prefix *ao* may be a contraction of Saṁskṛit "angan". We get the word "shaw" to mean "shampoo the body" in the Ahom vocabulary, and the Mongolian origin of it has not been mentioned..... Is it not very likely that the Chutias and Bhuiyas who gave these words to their Hindu neighbours of Orissa carried them also to the valley of Assam through Eastern Bengal?' Mr. Mazumdar cannot even point out that the Chūṭiās themselves use these two words though they are supposed to have contributed them to the Ahom vocabulary. And even if they did use them, that would prove little. For aught we know, phonetic resemblances like these may be merely fortuitous.

A further linguistic argument advanced by Mr. Mazumdar is based on the name of the priestly section of the Chūṭiās of Assam. He writes, "The Bhuiyas in Chota-Nagpur and Orissa have for their priests or wizards the *Dehuris* or *Kalos*. Now, the Baro-Bhuiyas and Chutiyas, and so also some other tribes of Assam, have for their priests or wizards the *Deoris*. That the words *Deori* and *Dehuri* do not differ much, need not be pointed out. Can all these be considered accidental?" Now, it may be pointed out, that the words '*Deori*' and *Dehuri* would appear to be derivatives of the Saṁskṛit word '*Deba*' (Hindi '*Deo*'), a god. In Bengali, *Deula* is used in the sense

of a servant of an idol.⁵⁵ The Sakaldwipi Brāmhans of Bihār have a clan of the name of *Deorahi* or *Deo* and another of the name of *Deodhi* or *Deodhiar*.⁵⁶ The Dravidian-speaking Orāoñs, like the Mūṇḍā-speaking Mūṇḍās, call a spirit-finder and exorciser (generally a Hindu) by the name of *Deoñā* or *Deoñra*.⁵⁷ The Sāñtāl of the Sāñtāl Parganās and Chōṭa-Nāgpur call their priest by the name of *Dihri*.⁵⁸ The Hindu caste of Sudhs in the Central Provinces have a sub-caste of the name of *Dehuri* meaning 'worshippers'. A priest among the Bhumias of the Jeypore Zemindary is called a '*Desari*'.⁵⁹ *Divar*⁶⁰ is the title of the Dravidian Occhans (also known as *Archakas* or worshippers) who are a class of temple-priests in the Madras Presidency as far south as Travancore. The Ahoms of Assam apply the term '*Deodhai*' to their tribal priests.⁶¹ It is not unlikely that the Chūṭiās may have derived the term '*Deori*' from the Ahom name '*Deodhai*' or Boḍo term '*Deoshi*'. Dalton writes, 'I think I have heard the Kachari priests called *Deoris*'⁶².

Mr. Mazumdar puts his final philological argument as follows:—"In the District of Sambalpur there is a sect of the priestly Bhuiyas who call themselves *Rikhman* or *Rikhvan* Bhuiyas. What the term signifies they do not know. The Ahoms performed a ceremony at the installation of a new king which was called *Rikhvan* ceremony. As the ceremony was performed by the *Deoris*, I suspect that it was a thing of local adoption by the Ahoms".

Here, again, Mr. Mazumdar is mistaken in his facts. *Rikhman* is not the name of the priestly Bhūiyās nor, in fact, is there any sect of priestly Bhūiyās. A priest or exorciser, called in some parts of the Bhūiyā country as *Dihuri*, in some

⁵⁵ J. C. Ray, *Bangala Sabda Kosh*, p. 467.

⁵⁶ Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. II, Appendix I, p. 22.

⁵⁷ S. C. Roy, *Oraon Religion and Customs*, p. 254.

⁵⁸ *Santal Parganas Gazetteer* (1910), p. 108.

⁵⁹ Thurston, *Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, p. 238.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 125; Vol. V, pp. 419-20.

⁶¹ Gait, *History of Assam*, p. 73.

⁶² Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 85.

parts as *Kalo* and in some as *Pāhān*, may belong to any Bhūiyā clan, and *Rikhiāsan* is the name of one of many such 'clans'.

In fact, the Bhūiyās of the Gayā and Hāzāribāgh Districts, and of the northern and central parts of the Rānchi District, who belong to different clans such as *Māhātōār*, *Ḍāṇḍōār*, *Magāhiā*, etc., say that 'Rikman' or 'Rikh-muni' was the name of the first ancestor of the tribe and identify him with their chief deity or *Bīr* known as *Tulsi Bīr*. This 'Rikhman' is said to have lived in 'Maner Patna' or village Maner near Patna. Another derivation which I have heard from some Bhūiyās of the Rānchi and Hāzāribāgh districts is that the name 'Rikhman' comes from the Sanskrit words 'Rishi' and 'Muni' and that as their ancestors lived on roots and fruits like ancient Hindu saints (*Rishi-Munis*), they were so named.

The Bhūiyās of the Mirzāpur District call themselves *Rikhasan*- (or *Rikhman*-) Bhuiyas, and trace their descent from two Rishis or Munis. Thus, we are told,⁶⁸ "Their legend in Mirzapur runs that two ancient sages, Moma Rishi and Kumbha Rishi, had each a son known respectively as Bhad or Bhadra and Mahesh. Bhad practised austerities in the forests of Magadha or Bihar, and his cousin Mahesh attended on him. Bhad once sat between two *nim* (*melia azadirachta*) trees, and when he felt hungry ate the bark. The Bhūiyās hence know him as the Nim Rishi. Mahesh went into the forest every morning to collect roots and fruits. Half he used to eat himself, and half he kept for his cousin. When Bhad had spent twelve years in these austerities, the Lord tempted him by sending to him one of the nymphs of heaven. She used to make some *halwa* out of flour, butter and sugar and stick it on the bark of the tree beneath which Bhad sat. Bhad knowing nothing of this used to eat it with the bark which formed his daily food. Finally his eyes were opened and he saw the lady. He fell in love with her and took her to wife, and had seven sons, from whom are descended the Magahiya, Tirvak, Dandwar, Dhelwar, Musahar, and Bhuinhar or Bhuiyar septs. From their descent

⁶⁸ Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1896), p. 71.

from the Rishi the Bhuiyas often call themselves Rikhiasan Bhuiyas. The fruits and roots which Mahesh collected he sowed in the Mirzapur jungles, and since then they have begun to grow there”.

The ‘Rikhvan’ ceremony, to which Mr. Mazumdar refers, was an Ahom ceremony for obtaining long life (from Ahom ‘rik,’ revive, and ‘khoan’, life) and was generally performed at the installation of a new king, or in time of danger, or after a victory. And the officiants were not Chūtiā *Deoris* but Ahom *Deodhāis* (tribal priests) and *Mohans* (Pandits) and *Bailongs* (astrologers).⁶⁴

Thus Mr. Mazumdar’s assertion that “The name Chutia-Nagpur is traced to the tribal name of the legendary heroes—the Chutias who once conquered the country”, has no foundation in fact. There is no evidence that the Chūtiās ever came to Chōṭā-Nāgpur or near it. In fact, all authorities agree in holding that the Chūṭiyās entered Assam from the north and north-east of that country and not from its south or south-west.

As we have seen, there appears to be no basis for the contention that the Bhūiyās were the earliest settlers of the Mūṇḍā stock on the Chōṭā Nāgpur plateau and were allied to or ever associated with the Chūtiās of Assam, and dislodged from Chōṭā Nāgpur plateau by the Mūṇḍās. Nor is there any foundation for the contention that any people of the name of Chūtiās were ever dominant in Chōṭā Nāgpur. It follows that the country does not owe its name of Chōṭā Nāgpur to Mr. Mazumdar’s legendary Chūtiās. We have already seen that it was from its ‘Nāghaiṁsi’ Rājās that the country came to be called ‘Nāgpur’, and it was much later during Moghul rule in India, that the name ‘Kokera’ or ‘Kokhra’ was applied to it in Muhammadan records alone, and that it was either towards the end of Moghul rule or the beginning of British rule that it came to be called ‘Chōṭā’ or ‘Lesser’ Nāgpur to distinguish it from the other Nāgpur in the Central Provinces which then rose into prominence under its

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

Bhonslā Rajas, and that the spelling of the name as 'Chutia Nagpur' is a mistake for the correct spelling 'Chōṭā Nāgpur' or 'Chhōṭā Nagpur', and neither the village of 'Chūtiā' nor the legendary 'Chūtiās' of Mr. Mazumdar nor the ancestors of the present Chūtiā tribe of Assām have had anything to do with the origin of the name.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—Chandra-Gupta Maurya as 'Vîr Varshal.'

There is a *bât* or ballad sung in the Punjab by *Dhadhis* who are mendicant-musicians. They play on a one-string (*ek tārā*) instrument or *Sārangi*, and like the ballad of King Rasalu and Sirkap they sing a ballad of a king 'Vîr Varshal' by name, *Vîr* [= *Vîra*] in Punjabi means 'hero'. *Vîr Varshal* was the king of the territory on this side of the Ravi and the other side was held by another king who was his enemy but whose daughter he (Vîr Varshal) ultimately married. The ballad is mainly a love-story of Vîr Varshal and Vîr Varshal's war with the king (whose name I have not yet learnt). Vîr Varshal's friend was *Chāṇak*. Vîr Varshal was a Hindu, while his enemy was a foreigner.

Now, here, for the first time we get the popular and pre-imperial personal name of Chandra-Gupta Maurya as 'Varshal' which is rendered in *Mudrā-Rākshasa* as *Vṛishala* (lit., 'powerful'). Some gentlemen in the Punjab should record the ballad. The foreigner king was evidently Seleukos.

K. P. J.

II.—A Correct Chronology of Delhi History, 1739–1754.

By Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

[All the dates in this table are given in the Old Style or unreformed Calendar, which was observed in England till 2nd September, 1752, when it was reformed by adding eleven days, so that the day following 2nd September was reckoned as 14th September. France and Holland had adopted the reformed or New Style in December, 1582.]

1739.

- 5 May. Nādir Shāh begins his return march from Delhi. [Anand, 83.]
- 13 May. Muhammad Shāh holds his first public *darbār* after his restoration. [D.C.]
- 18 May. Md. Ishaq Khan appointed *Diwān-i-khālṣa* with the title of Mutaman-ud-daulah. Is granted the *māhi-wa-murātīb* on 8 Nov. [Siyar, ii. 99.]
- 21 May. Dānishmand Kh. app. *Khān-i-sāmān* vice Lutfullah. [D.C.]
- 3 June. Āsad Yār Kh. app. *dārogha* of *harkārahs*. [D.C.]
- 12 June. Sa'duddin Kh. (already *Mir Ātish*) app. *Khān-i-sāmān* also vice Dānishmand deceased. [D.C.]

1740.

- 3 April. Āsaf Jāh (Nizām) marches out of Delhi; halts in suburb. [Siyar, iii. 3.]
- 10 April. Sarfarāz (*subahdār* of Bengal) slain; Alivardi succeeds. [Bengal letter, 4 Aug., 1740; Siyar, ii. 104.]
- April. Maratha raiders approach Benares, retreat in May. [Beng. let., 3 Jan., 1741.]
- 12 April. A'bdul Majid app. *Diwān-i-khālṣa*. [D.C.]
- 18 April. Md. Ishaq Kh. dies. [Siyar, iii. 3.]
- 28 April. Baji Rao I dies. [Siyar, iii. 3, corrected by Sardesai, ii. 391.]

27 July. Nizam begins his march from Delhi to Deccan.
[*Siyar*, iii. 3.]

Dec. Alivardi marches against Rustam Jang, deputy governor
of Orissa. [*Siyar*, ii. 108.]

1741.

3 March. Alivardi defeats Rustam Jang at Fulwari (near
Balasore), and then enters Katak. [Beng. let., 26 July,
1741.]

23 July. Āsaf Jāh defeats his son Nāsir Jang near Aurangabad.
[*Siyar*, iii. 3; *Sarw-i-Azad*, 179.]

August. Baqar 'Ali seizes Katak from Alivardi's deputy Saulat
Jang. [Beng. let., 11 Dec., 1741.]

December. Alivardi defeats Baqar 'Ali near Katak and re-
covers the province. [Beng. let., 23 Dec., 1741.]

1742.

16 April. Bhāskar Pandit surrounds Alivardi at Burdwan.
[*Maharashtra Puran*; Beng. let., 31 July, 1742.]

30 April. Alivardi reaches Katwa fighting. [*Ibid.*]

5 May. Marathas plunder suburbs of Murshidabad;

6 May. Alivardi arrives at Murshidabad, Marathas retreat.
[*Ibid.*; Beng. let., 8 Jan., 1743.]

June. Marathas return from Pachet and encamp at Katwa.
[Beng. let., 30 Oct., 1742.]

June. Marathas capture Hughli and occupy West Bengal.
[Beng. let., 31 July, 1742.]

26 Sep. Alivardi surprises and routs Bhāskar at Katwa.
[*Maharashtra Puran*; *Siyar*, ii. 126.]

c. 7 Dec. Safdar Jang (*subahdar* of Oudh) reaches Patna.
[Beng. let., 18 Dec., 1742]; he sets out on return about
15 Jan., 1743. [Beng. let., 30 Jan., 1743; *Siyar*, ii. 127.]

Dec. Alivardi, after driving the Marathas beyond the Chilka
lake, halts at Katak. [Beng. let., 8 Jan., 1743.]

1743.

5 Jan. Emperor Muhammad Shah falls seriously ill. [*Siyar*,
iii. 5; Beng. let., 3 Feb., 1744.]

- c. 10 Feb. Alivardi reaches Murshidabad from Katak. [Beng. let., 15 Feb., 1743.]
- c. 13 Feb. Balāji Rāo (Peshwa) enters Bihar. [Beng. let., 13 Aug., 1743; *Siyar*, ii. 127.]
- c. 8 March. Balaji's envoys meet Alivardi. Raghuji Bhonslé (on invasion) is in Rāmgarh (Hazaribagh.) [*Akhbarat*.]
- 26 March. Maratha ditch at Calcutta begun. [Beng. let., 3 Feb., 1744.]
- 31 March. Interview between Balaji and Alivardi at Palāshi (Plassey). [*Akh.*; Beng. let., 13 Aug., 1743.]
- 15 April. Balaji takes leave of Alivardi for pursuing Raghuji. Raghuji goes to Medinipur. [*Akh.*]
- 24 April. Alivardi at Katwa. Haibat Jang (Deputy Governor of Bihar) is sent back to Patna. [*Akh.*]
- 20 June. S'aduddin Kh. (*Kh-i-saman* and *Mir Atish*) dies. [*Siyar*, iii. 5.]
- 21 June. Dr. 'Ulavi Kh. reaches Delhi for treating Emperor. [*Bayan*, 205.]
- 23 June. Hāfizuddin (S'aduddin's son) app. *Khān-i-sāmān* and *Mir Atish*. [*Siyar*, iii. 8; *Bayan*, 231.]
- c. 15 Aug. Emperor summons the leading nobles from the provinces to Court. [*Siyar*, iii. 5.]
- 21 Sep. Sawai Jay Singh (of Jaypur) dies. [*Siyar*, iii. 5, corrected from Narendra Singh.]
- 7 Nov. Āmir Kh. (*subahdar* of Allahabad) received in audience by Emperor. [*D.C.*; *Siyar*, iii. 6.]
- c. 13 Nov. Safdar Jang enters Delhi. [*Siyar*, iii. 6.]
- 17 Nov. Safdar Jang received by Emperor. [*Ibid.*]
- 18 Dec. Prince Ahmad married. [*Siyar*, iii. 7.]
- 29 Dec. A comet appears at Delhi. [*Ibid.*]

1744.

- c. 1 March. Bhāskar invades Bengal again. [Beng. let., 3 Aug., 1744; *Siyar*, ii. 134.]
- 11 March. Safdar Jang app. *Mir Atish*. [*Siyar*, iii. 8.]
- 31 March. Bhāskar murdered by Alivardi at Mankarā [*Maharashtra Puran*; Beng. let., 3 Aug.; *Siyar*, ii. 135;

Chandernagor to Pondichéry let., 12 May, in Pondi to Comp.,
18 Oct. (N.S.).

24 Sep. Safdar Jang app. *subadar* of Kashmir *vice* Asad Yar
Kh. [*Siyar*, iii. 8.]

1745.

c. Jan. Fathchand (Jagat Seth) dies; his grandson Mahtab
Rai succeeds. [Beng. let., 9 Feb.]

Jan. Quarrel between Alivardi and his Afghan general
Mustafa Khan begins. [*Siyar*, ii. 137; Beng. let., 9 Feb.]

15 Feb. Emperor issues from Delhi against 'Ali Md. Kh.
Ruhela; halts at Luni. [*Siyar*, iii. 10; *Anandram*, 204.]

c. 20 Feb. Mustafa Kh. quits Murshidabad for Patna. [*Siyar*,
ii. 137; Beng. let., 11 Aug.]

14-20 March. Battle before Patna city; Haibat Jang defeats
Mustafa, who flees away to the west. [*Siyar*, ii. 142-144.]

April. Alivardi arrives at Patna, chases Mustafa to Zamania,
and then quickly returns to Murshidabad. [*Siyar*, ii. 144-
145.]

c. April. Raghuji captures Katak city, besieges its fort
Barābāti, imprisons Durlabh-rām (the deputy governor),
and occupies all Orissa up to Medinipur. [*Siyar*, ii.
149-150.]

c. 15 April. Asad Yār Kh. dies. [*Siyar*, iii. 11.]

23 May. 'Ali Md. Ruhela visits Emperor to seek pardon.
[*Anand*, 261.]

19 June. Emperor enters Delhi on return from Ruhela war.
[*Ibid.*, 287.]

June. Marathas enter Burdwan district from the south.
[Beng. let., 11 Aug.]

c. 20 June. Mustafa Kh. slain at Karhani (Arrah dist.).
[*Siyar*, ii. 146-147; Beng. let., 11 Aug.]

1 July. Zakaria Kh. (*subahdar* of Lahor and Multan) dies.
[*Anand*, 139.]

c. 20 July. Marathas leave Murshidabad and Burdwan dis-
tricts, to canton for the rains in Birbhum. [Beng. let.,
11 Aug.]

13 Sep. Qamruddin (*wazir*) dislocates his leg. [*Anand*, 148.]

October. Raghuji marches from Birbhum for South Bihar.
[*Siyar*, ii. 150-151.]

Alivardi leaves Murshidabad for Patna. [Beng. let., 31 Jan., 1746.]

Raghuji plunders Fatua and moves on to S.W. Bihar. [*Ibid.*; *Siyar*, ii. 151.]

14 Nov. Alivardi attacks Raghuji near Muhib-'ali-pur. [*Siyar*, ii. 152; *S.P.D.* letter 74.] Running battle for a week afterwards.

Early Dec. Raghuji attacks Alivardi (on return march) at Bhagalpur. [*Siyar*, ii. 153.]

21 Dec. Raghuji arrives at Jhapāidaha (Murshidabad dist.) and burns villages. [*Ibid.*]

22 Dec. Alivardi arrives six miles from Murshidabad; reaches Āmāniganj on 26th. [Beng. let., 31 Jan., 1746.]

? Safdar Jang's son Shuja-ud-daulah married to Bahu Begam, daughter of Md. Ishaq Kh. I.

1746.

3 Jan. Maratha raiders out six miles west of Murshidabad [Beng. let., 31 Jan.]

13 Jan. Mir Md. Sharif at Balasore, *en route* to Murshidabad. [Beng. let., 22 Feb., 1747.]

c. 1 Feb. Marathas encamped at Katwa for some time past, many of them on Qāsimbāzār island. [Beng. let., 4 Feb. and 22 Feb., 1746].

c. 25 Feb. Raghuji vacates Qāsimbāzār island, goes to Kamatpur, but continues to occupy Burdwan dist. Mir Habib and Murtaza Kh. near Vishnupur. [Beng. let., 22 Feb., 1747.]

c. 4 March. 'Ataullah with a large force is sent to expel Marathas from Burdwan. [Qāsimbāzār letter, 5 March.]

March. Raghuji is defeated near Rani's tank (west of Katwa), and, on hearing of disturbances in his own kingdom, hastens there. [*Siyar*, ii. 153.]

April. Alivardi returns victorious to Murshidabad. [Pondi. let., 31 Jan., 1747 *N.S.*]

- c. 10 May. Mir Habib plundering near Hijli. [Beng. let., 22 Feb., 1747.]

Marathas again out, carry off grain-bullocks coming from Bhagwāngola to Murshidabad. [*Siyar*, ii. 154.]

- July. Alivardi dismisses Shamshir Kh. and Sardār Kh. (Afghan generals), who go to their homes in Darbhanga. [Pondi. let., 31 Jan., 1747; *Siyar*, ii. 154 and 156.]

Marathas continue at Medinipur during the whole season. [Pondi. let.; Beng. let., 30 Nov.]

- Oct. Emperor promises *charuth* for Bengal, etc., to Marathas by treaty. [Chandernagor let., 24 Nov.; Beng. let., 30 Nov.; *S.P.D.* let., 29 and 49.]

- c. 10 Nov. Mir J'afar marches to expel Marathas from Orissa. [Beng. let., 30 Nov.]

Mir Habib takes Rajah of Kanika and family prisoners. [Beng. let., 22 Feb., 1747.]

- 21 Nov. Hayātullah (second son of Zakaria Kh.) comes to Lahor and begins to quarrel with Yahiya Kh. (eldest son) for division of patrimony. [*Anand*, 289.]

- c. 12 Dec. Mir J'afar defeats Sayyid Nur near Medinipur, but does not pursue into Orissa. [Beng. let., 22 Feb., 1747.]

- 25 Dec. Āmir Kh. 'Umdat-ul-mulk murdered. [*Siyar*, iii. 14; *Bayan*, 207.]

End of Dec., 1746 or Jan., 1747. Durlabh-ram is released at Nagpur on payment of ransom. [*S.P.D.* let., 46.]

1747.

- c. 24 Jan. Mir Habib encamps near Balasore, raising batteries to hold the river against Alivardi's forces; continues there the whole season. [Beng. let., 22 Feb., 1747, 24 Feb., 1748.]

Jan. Janoji approaches from Katak; Mir J'afar falls back from Medinipur to Burdwan, is attacked during retreat. Alivardi hurries up from Murshidabad to Burdwan, defeats Janoji, heads off a Maratha raid on Murshidabad. Janoji retires to Medinipur. [*Siyar*, ii. 157.]

- 21 March. Hayātullah gets possession of Lahor and imprisons Yahiya Kh. [*Anand*, 292.]

- April. Alivardi returns from Burdwan to Murshidabad.
 Treasonable plot of 'Ataullah and Mir J'afar (who are disgraced). [*Siyar*, ii. 157-158.]
- 9 June. Nādir Shāh murdered. [*Jahān-kushā*, 461.]
- 12 June. Āhmad Ābdālī made king of Afghans. [*Mujmil*, 75.]
- 12 July. Ishaq Kh. II, Najmuddaulah, app. *Diwān-i-khālsa*. [*D.C.*]
- Oct. Alivardi encamps at Āmāniganj (outside Murshidabad) for expedition against Marathas of Medinipur. [*Siyar*, ii. 159].
- c. 10 Dec. Shamshir Kh. and other Afghans at Haibat Jang's invitation leave Darbhanga for Patna; 16—25 Dec., they halt at Hajipur, negotiating with Haibat Jang. [*Siyar*, ii. 159-160.]
- c. 14 Dec. Abdali leaves Peshawar for Lahor. [*Anand*, 312.]

1748.

- 8 Jan. Qamruddin (*wazir*) sent from Delhi against Abdali. [*D.C.*; *Anand*, 313.]
- 11 Jan. Abdali seizes Lahor. [*Anand*, 326.]
- 13 Jan. Shamshir Kh. murders Haibat Jang and seizes Patna. [*Muzaff.* 18.] His Afghans plunder Dutch factory at Fatua. [Beng. let., 24 Feb. and 19 Nov.; *Bengal Consultations*, 8 Mar.]
- Jan.-Feb. Marathas dispersed in large parties plundering, from Murshidabad to Burdwan. [*Ibid.*]
- 31 Jan. Prince Āhmad (Timurid) starts from Delhi against Abdali. [*Anand*, 324.]
- 17 Feb. Qasimbazar boats (laden with silk) for Calcutta, under Ensign English, seized by Marathas at Katwa. Janoji then leaves Katwa for Bhagalpur. [Beng. let., 24 Feb.; *Beng. Consult.*, 25 Feb.]
- 19 Feb. Abdali leaves Lahor for Sarhind. [*Anand*, 332.]
- 25 Feb. Prince Ahmad arrives near Sarhind. [*Ibid.*, 336.]
- 29 Feb. Alivardi breaks up camp at Amaniganj for marching to Patna. Reaches Komra (25 miles north of Murshidabad)

- on 14 Mar., and passes Sakrigali on 17-18 Mar. [*Beng. Consult.*, 8, 19 and 24 Mar.]
- 2 Mar. Abdali captures Sarhind. [*Anand*, 337.]
- 11 Mar. Battle of Manupur. Qamruddin (*wazir*) killed, Abdali defeated. [*Ibid.*, 347-375.]
- 15 April. Emperor Muhammad Shah dies. His son Ahmad Shah is crowned at Panipat on 18th, and enters Delhi on 23rd April. [*D.C.*, *Anand*, 346-354.]
- 16 April. Alivardi defeats Shamshir at Rāni-sarāi (near Bakh-tiarpur). He then enters Patna and continues there till c. 6 Nov.; thence goes to Murshidabad (arriving 30 Nov.), stays at Murshidabad till March, 1749. [*Beng. let.*, 19 Nov., 22 Dec.; *Beng. Consult.*, 26 Mar.; *Siyar*, ii. 172.]
- 21 May. Asaf Jah (Nizam) dies. [*Siyar*, iii. 23.]
- 19 June. Safdar Jang invested as *wazir*. [*D.C.*]
- 29 June. Sādāt Kh. (Salābat Kh. Zulfiqār Jang) app. *Mir Bakhshi* (with title of Amir-ul-umara) *vice* Nizam. [*D.C.*; *Siyar*, iii. 26.]
- 15 Sep. 'Ali Md. Kh. Ruhela dies. [*Gulistan-i-R.*, tr. by Elliot, 28.]
- c. 15 Nov. Emperor appoints Qutbuddin Md. Kh. *faujdār* of Muradabad, under Intizamuddaulah. [*Siyar*, iii. 28; *Gulistan*, 28.]
- 20 Nov. Safdar Jang shot at in Delhi street. [*D.C.*] He goes out of Delhi.

1749.

- 7 April. Emperor visits Safdar Jang at his house. [*D.C.*]
- 16 May. Alivardi arrives three leagues from Katak; on 18th enters that city. [*Beng. Consult.*, 24, 27 and 29 May, 17 June, July.]
- 6 June. Alivardi, on return march from Katak, reaches Bala-sore; hears of Marathas having retaken Katak. He reaches Murshidabad *viā* Katwa, c. 2nd July. [*Ibid.*]
- 21 June. Abhay Singh (Rajah of Jodhpur) dies. [*D.C.*]
- 30 June. Dr. 'Ulavi Kh. dies. [*Bayan*, 272; *D.C.*]
- 12 Nov. Qāim Kh. Bangash (Nawab of Farrukhabad) killed in battle by S'adullah Ruhela at Dumri.

- 22 Nov. Safdar Jang gets *conge* to go to Farrukhabad. [*D.C.*]
 29 Nov. Emperor, with Safdar, marches from Delhi to Koil.
 He enters Delhi on return on 16 Jan., 1750. [*D.C.*; *Siyar*,
 iii. 30.]
 6 Dec. Mirza Muhasan (Safdar's elder brother) dies. [*D.C.*;
 correcting *Siyar*, iii. 29.]
 9 Dec. Salābat Kh. (Amir-ul-umara) reaches Pataudi on in-
 vasion of Jodhpur and Jat country. [*Siyar*, iii. 38.]
 24 Dec. Qaim Kh.'s mother enters Safdar Jang's camp. [*D.C.*]

1750.

- 21 Jan. Ishwari S. defeats Mādhō S. [*S.P.D.*, xxi. let. 24.]
 Jan.–June. Alivardi in cantonments at Medinipur. [*Siyar*, ii.]
 14 April. Battle between Salābat Kh. and Ram S.; artillery
 duel. [*S.P.D.*, xxi. let. 27 and 35.]
 June. Three days' fever epidemic in Delhi. [*D.C.*]
 c. 27 June. Siraj-ud-daulah reaches Patna, attacks the city,
 but is repulsed. [*Siyar*, ii. 184.] Alivardi arrives soon
 afterwards from Medinipur *viâ* Murshidabad; falls ill, and
 starts by boat on return.
 23 July. Safdar Jang gets *conge* against the Afghans of Mau.
 [*Siyar*, iii. 31; *D.C.* gives 24th.]
 2 Aug. Nawal Rai slain by Afghans at Khudaganj. [*Siyar*,
 iii. 31.]
 10 Aug. Marhara looted by Safdar's soldiers. [*Ibid.*, 32.]
 13 Sep. Safdar Jang defeated by Ahmad Bangash at Patari.
 [*D.C.*; *Siyar*, iii. 33.]
 20 Sep. Safdar Jang arrives on the Jamuna opposite Delhi.
 [*Siyar*, iii. 34.]
 Sep. Alivardi recovers after a long illness. [*Beng. Consul.*,
 18 Oct.]
 Sep. Salābat Kh. stays in Ajmir, collecting war contribution.
 [*S.P.D.*, xxi. let. 31.]
 Dec. Salābat Kh. reaches Delhi on return from Rajput war.
 [*Ibid.*, let. 34; *Siyar*, iii. 40.]
 5 Dec. Nāsir Jang murdered. [*D.C.*; *Siyar*, iii. 43.]
 12 Dec. Ishwari Singh (Rajah of Jaypur) commits suicide.
 [*Siyar*, iii. 43.]

Dec., 1750-Jan., 1751. Alivardi marches to Medinipur, pursues the Marathas; indecisive fighting. [*Siyar*, ii. 187.]

? Earthquake in Delhi. [*Muzaffari*, 37.]

? Wooden mosque in Delhi fort (containing Prophet's relics) burnt. [*Ibid.*, 42; Shakir, 70.]

1751.

22 Jan. Ghaziuddin Kh. I (eldest son of Asaf Jah) app. Nizam. [*Siyar*, iii. 43.]

Jan. Ahmad Bangash lays siege to Allahabad and Mahmud Bangash invades Oudh. [*Muzaff.* 53; correcting *Siyar*, iii. 35.]

Feb.-March. Alivardi Kh. returns from Medinipur to Katwa and opens peace negotiations with the Marathas.

c. May. He signs a treaty with Raghuji Bhonslé, agreeing to pay *chauth* (12 lakhs annually) and to assign the revenue of Orissa to him. [*Siyar*, ii. 187-188; corrected from *Chander-nagor Correspondence*, p. 435.]

c. 23 March. Safdar Jang starts from Delhi against Ahmad Bangash. [*Siyar*, iii. 36.]

c. 1 April. Ahmad Bangash raises the siege of Allahabad. [*Ibid.*]

19 April. Ahmad Bangash and Sadullah Ruhela routed by Marathas and Safdar at Husainpur. [*Ibid.*, 37; *D.C.*]

7 June. Ghazi-ud-din Kh. I app. *Mir Bakshi* (Amir-ul-umara) vice Salābat Kh. [*D.C.*]

This year the rice crop of Bengal perished entirely through lack of rain. [Fr. factory letter.]

1752.

6 March. Abdali enters Lahor, annexes *subahs* of Lahor and Multan. [*D.C.*]

1 April. Qalandar Kh., Abdali's envoy, reaches Delhi. [*Ibid.*]

4 May. Ghazi-ud-din I. (Firuz Jang, Amir-ul-umara), Nizam, leaves Delhi for the Deccan. Dies at Aurangabad 16th Oct. [*Siyar*, iii. 44-45; *D.C.*]

2 July. Safdar Jang enters Delhi city. [*Siyar*, iii. 45.]

- 24 Aug. Janoji Bhonslé murders Mir Habib. [*Chandernagor Corresp.*, p. 435.]
- 27 Aug. Javid Kh. (eunuch, entitled Nawab Bahadur) murdered by Safdar Jang. [*Bayan*, 273; *D.C.*]
- 12 Dec. Imad-ul-mulk (son of Ghazi-ud-din I) app. Mir Bakhshi, with titles of Ghazi-ud-din II, Firuz Jang, Amir-ul-umara and Nizam-ul-mulk. [*D.C.*]

1753.

- 13 Feb. Abdali's envoy is received by Emperor in Delhi. [*D.C.*]
- 17 March. Safdar Jang's agent expelled from Delhi fort. [*D.C.*]
- 26 March. Safdar leaves Delhi city and encamps in the suburbs. [*Ibid.*]
- 4 May. Salābat Kh. joins Safdar. [*Ibid.*]
- 9 May. Civil war between Safdar and Emperor begins. [*Bayan*, 277.]
- 13 May. Safdar J. dismissed from *wazir*-ship. Intizam-ud-daulah (son of Qamruddin) app. *wazir*. [*D.C.*]
- 6 Sep. All day long battle between Safdar and Imad in Delhi. [*Ibid.*]
- 23 Sep. Battle at Faridabad; Safdar defeated by Imad. [*Ibid.*]
- 7 Nov. Safdar makes terms with Emperor and begins his retirement to Oudh. [*Ibid.*; *Muz.* 75.]
- Nov. Muin-ul-mulk (governor of Lahor on behalf of Abdali) dies. [*Siyar*, iii. 50.]

1754.

- Jan. Maharana Pratap Singh dies. [*D.C.*]
- 13 Feb. Soldiers mutiny for arrears of pay in Delhi streets. [*D.C.*]
- 9 March. Khandé Rao Holkar slain at siege of Kumbher. [*D.C.*]
- 8 April. Badakhshi regiment mutinies. [*D.C.*]
- 25 May. Emperor's camp at Sikandrabad surprised by Malhar Holkar; wild panic and flight. [*D.C.*]
- 1 June. Ghazi-ud-din II. (Imad-ul-mulk) app. *wazir* vice Intizam-ud-daulah. [*D.C.*]

- 2 June. Emperor Ahmad Shah deposed. 'Ālamgir II crowned. [*D.C.*; *Siyar*, iii. 50.]
- 24 June. 'Āqibat Mahmud murdered. [*D.C.*]
- 5 Oct. Safdar Jang dies. Shuja-ud-daulah succeeds as *subah-dar* of Oudh. [*Siyar*, iii. 50.]

EVIDENCE FOR SETTLING THE DISPUTED DATES.

1739. *Ishaq Khan's appointment as Diwān-i-khālṣa*.—*Siyar*, ii. 99 is our only authority for the date, 18 May, 1739, and as it was only five days after Muhammad Shah's public restoration to his throne, it seems very probable. The entry in *D.C.* that on 3 June, Ishaq as *dārogha* of *risālāh-i-sulṭāni*, etc., received a *bālāband* as 'inām, puzzles us. Could such a high officer as the imperial *Diwan* have retained his former low office of *darogha* of the prince's contingent? *D.C.* records that on the same date (3 June) his post of *dārogha* of the gardens in Delhi was given to another man; this was quite proper.
1745. *Mustafa Khan's attack upon Patna*.—*Siyar*, ii. 142 writes that the attack was launched on 'Thursday the 17th or 18th Safar.' But Thursday was 21st Safar, while the 17th was a Sunday. But the author supplies on p. 144 the means of correcting him; he there says 'Five entire days passed in this kind of exchange of fire. On the night of the seventh day, which was the night of Wednesday at the end of Safar, etc.' Now, the last Wednesday in that month of Safar was on the 27th (=20th March, 1745). It should be remembered that in the Muslim almanac the day begins at 6 p.m. and not at midnight as in the Christian calculation. So, in the first statement of *Siyar*, p. 142, the day of the week is correct, but not the day of the month.
1745. *Muhammad Shah's expedition against Ali Muhammad Ruhela*.—*Siyar*, iii. 10 says that he issued from Delhi on 24 Muharram 1158 (=15 Feb., 1745), but halted in the environs for some time. Anandrām (p. 204) agrees entirely, and as he was personally present throughout the campaign, there can be no greater authority. Ashub (427) and *Bayan*

(210) give the same year and the next month (Safar), when the Emperor began the actual march, as Anandram too says; and so they really corroborate. Hence, *Gulistan-i-Rahamat* (tr. by Elliot, p. 20) is wrong in saying that the expedition was undertaken 'in the 26th year of the reign 1155,' which is absurd, as Safar 1155 fell in the 24th year of this Emperor's reign.

1747. *Hayatullah's capture of Lahor*.—Anandram (p. 290) writes that the attack began (four days before the fall of the city) on '16th Rab'i-ul-āwwal in 1159 (written in words), in the 29th year of Muhammad Shah's reign.' Now, here the Hijri year, *though written in words*, is wrong, because Rab'i-ul-awwal of the 29th year of this Emperor fell in 1160 A.H. Indeed, Anandram himself supplies the means of correction, as he tells us (on p. 289) that Hayatullah arrived near Lahor on 18 Ziqada 1159, and therefore he could not possibly have attacked that city *nine months before his arrival* (namely in Rabi A. 1159).

The years in this MS. (the same that was used by Sir Henry Elliot's translator, Lieut. Perkins,) are sometimes wrong, even when written in words! E.g., the year of Anandram's visit to the Garh Mukteshwar fair.

1747. *Death of Nadir Shah*.—According to *Jahānkushā-i-Nādiri* (litho, p. 461), it took place on 11th Jamādi-us-sāni 1160 (= 9 June 1747.) *Mujmil-ut-tārikh b'ad-Nādiriya* of Gulistani, ed. by Oskar Mann (p. 15) supports it, and indeed copies from *Jahānkushā* elsewhere too. Anandram (p. 296) gives 'the last day of Jamādi-ul-ukhrā' and *Bayan* (p. 215) '13th Jamādi-ul-āwwal,'—neither of which can be accepted as against the report of Nādir's secretary, the author of *Jahānkushā*.

1748. *Death of Qamruddin wazir and battle of Manupur*.—These two events took place on one and the same day, namely 11th March 1748, as is held by Anandram (pp. 346–375), Ashub (p. 454), *Mujmil* (pp. 108–112), and *Bayan* (p. 232), though the last-named work gives the date as 13th March. Against these, *Siyar* (iii. 19) and *Gulistan-i-Rahamat* (tr. p. 25) place the wazir's death on 11th March

no doubt, but the battle on the 17th and 15th respectively, which is clearly wrong.

Anandram, a Lahor man, gives a daily itinerary of the campaign from the imperialist camp, and is absolutely reliable. An interval of even one day, not to speak of four or six days (as alleged by *G-i-R* and *Siyar*), between the wazir's death and the decisive battle, is impossible, as the historians who have given detailed accounts of the battle all agree that the action was precipitated by the wazir's son (by order of his dying father) 'before the news of his death could spread and take the heart away from the imperial army,' and the fact of the wazir's death was withheld even from the commanders of all other divisions of the army except the wing commanded by the wazir's son. If after the wazir's death there had been even a day's delay in attacking and repulsing Abdali's army, the Delhi soldiers would have left their camp and fled away during the ensuing night.

1749. *Death of Qāim Khān Bangash.*—*Gulistan-i-Rahamat* (tr. p. 30) gives the date as 12th Zilhijja 1161 (= 22 Nov., 1748) and *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* (p. 11) the same month and year but two days earlier, (which may be a copyist's error of *daham* for *do-āz-daham*). The date has given rise to wide divergences of opinion in the district volumes concerned of Atkinson's *Gazetteer of the N.-W. P. Provinces*. Now, it can be proved that the above date is wrong by exactly one year, and that Harcharan Das, in his *Chahār Gulzār-i-Shujā'i* (f. 402 b) is right in placing it in 1162.

The undisputed dates that fix the limits of the year of Qāim Khan's death are the following:—

Death of Ali Md. Ruhela . . . 15 Sep., 1748 (*G-i-R*, 28).

Qutbuddin Kh.'s appointment as governor of Rohilkhand . . . c. 15 Nov., 1748. (*Ibid.*)

Emperor and Safdar Jang's march towards Farrukhabad to attach deceased Qāim's property 29 Nov., 1749.

The death of Qāim Kh. admittedly took place between the death of Qutbuddin and the march of the Emperor.

We know that after Ali Muhammad's death, Qutbuddin begged and secured from Intizamuddaulah the faujdari of Muradabad, in order to crush the Ruhelas, and that after making due preparations he went to his charge and was there killed in a battle with these enemies. *Gulistan-i-Rahamat* admits that Qutbuddin's appointment was made two months after Ali Muhammad's death (p. 28) and that after the slaying of Qutbuddin by Dundī Kh., Safdar Jang 'determined to make Qāim Kh. the instrument of his vengeance [on the Afghans]' and secured for him the governorship of Rohilkhand (p. 29). We also know that Qāim Kh. at first shrank from his perilous charge, and tried to come to an understanding with the Ruhelas by sending peace proposals to them, and it was only the return of his envoys in humiliation and failure that made him decide on war, with fatal consequences to himself. If Qutbuddin was appointed about 15th Nov., 1748 (as is admitted by *G-i-R*), where is the space for all these occurrences within the seven days that intervened between it and the death of Qāim Kh. on the 22nd of the same month and year, as alleged by *G-i-R*?

Then, again, it is admitted in this work (p. 35), 'No sooner did he [Safdar Jang] hear of the event [i.e., Qāim's death] than he marched to Farrukhabad to seize his property.' This march began on 29th Nov., 1749, and if Qāim had died on 22nd Nov., *a year earlier*, the interval of one year and seven days would be unaccountable. The normal procedure of the Mughal Government was to send out officers for attaching a noble's property immediately after hearing of his death.

Siyar (iii. 29) just after narrating the death of Qāim mentions the death of Mirza Muhasan, which admittedly took place on 29th Nov., 1749, and therefore Qāim's death could not have been an occurrence of a previous year, to which a different chapter is devoted in *Siyar*.

Lastly, on 10th Zilhijja 1161 (20 Nov., 1748), Safdar Jang, when returning from the 'Id prayer, was shot at and thrown down from his horse in the streets of Delhi and

suspected Intizam-ud-daulah and some other people of the palace party of having been the instigators of this attempt on his life. He left Delhi city in a huff and lived for some months after in the suburbs as his life was insecure within the walled city. The Emperor had to pay him a visit in this new residence some months later in order to placate him. This period of strained relationship was not exactly the time when Safdar Jang could have begged the governorship of Rohilkhand for his own nominee, Qāim Khan.

Khairuddin in '*Ibratnamah* (a very valuable history, though completed in 1806) says that Qaim Kh. was killed in the *second* regnal year of Ahmad Shah Timurid, which admittedly began in April 1749.

1751. *Ahmad Bangash's siege of Allahabad and Mahmud Bangash's invasion of Oudh.*—Both were undertaken at the same time. The siege of Allahabad was abandoned, after having been admittedly protracted [*Siyar*, iii. 34], late in March 1751, and therefore it must have been begun at least in the previous January,—which was also the time of Mahmud's arrival at Bilgram on his invasion of Oudh. Hence, *Siyar's* date for the latter event, 16th Jamādi-āwwal should be corrected to 16th Rab'i-ul-āwwal (as is given by *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, p. 53).

Abbreviation of authorities quoted.

Akhbarat.—*Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-mualā*, (Biblio. Nat. Paris MS.)

See this *Journal*, Dec., 1931 number, p. 340.

Anand.—Ānand-rām Mukhlis's *Tazkira*, Pers. MS. now in the Aligarh University Library, (my transcript cited).

Bayan.—*Bayān-i-waqāi'* of Abdul Karim Kashmiri, (my transcript cited).

Bengal let.—Letters from the Calcutta Council to the Directors in London. Also *Bengal Consultations*. (Both preserved in the Imperial Record Office, Calcutta.)

D.C.—A Persian chronology of events in Delhi from 1738 to 1798 (my transcr.), described by me in the *Proceedings* of the Bombay session of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Jahan-Kusha.—*Jahān-kushā-i-Nādirī*, by Mirza Mehdi, (Bombay litho.).

Mahārāshtra Purān.—A Bengali poem pub. in the *Quarterly Journal* of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta.

Mujmil.—*Mujmil-ut-tārikh ba'd Nādirīya* by Gulistani, ed. by Dr. Oskar Mann (Leyden).

Muzaffar.—*Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*., by Md. Ali Ansari, (my MS.).

Sarw-i-Azad.—By Āzād Bilgrāmi, (litho.).

Shākir.—*Tazkira* of Shākir Kh., the son of Lutfullah Kh. and paternal uncle of the author of *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, (my MS.).

Siyar.—*Siyar-ul-Mutakhkharin*, Persian text, printed in Calcutta, 1832.

S. P. D.—*Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, published by Govt. Press, Bombay. Where no part is cited the reference is to part xx. ('The Bhonsles of Nagpur').

III.—A Note on certain Sanskrit Geographical and Ethnic Terms.

In the *Bhārata-Bhūmi* (reviewed in this issue) the author has proposed some noteworthy identifications.

Aparītāḥ of the Sanskrit works he identifies with the *Afridis* of the North-Western Frontier. This is to be accepted, as both location and name fully justify the identification. Up to this time the tendency was to regard the Purāṇic spelling as a wrong one for *Aparāntāḥ*. But Mr. Jayachandra is right in his interpretation.

Northern Chola: The author successfully shows that there was a northern Chola according to Sanskrit geographers. Its position seems to be near Gilgit. Mr. Jayachandra points a name on the map resembling Chola, which may or may not be a correct identification, but the fact that there was a northern Chola is established.

Rishika. The most important contribution of Mr. Jayachandra is the interpretation of *Rishika* of the Mahā-Bhārata. Its location certainly justifies the inference that it refers to the Yüe chī. It is the name which is given to their language as Ārsī (*Kharoshthi Inscriptions*, p. XI). I think *Rishika* is a rendering of the 'Ārsī country'. But Mr. Jayachandra is wrong to take it as equivalent of Yüe chī or Yüe-ti. The original of Yüe chī should have *g*, *j*, or *v* and *s* or *t*. Kauṭilya¹ gives a Central Asian name—'*visī* and *mahā-visī*' (spelt as *Bisī*, *Mahā-bisī* in the printed edition)—which seems to be the *Little Yüe Chī* and *Great Yüe Chī*. Bhaṭṭasvāmin (p. 41, J.B.O.R.S., XI), treats these as furs coming from Mlechchha towns 'in the Himālaya', but he does the same regarding the neighbouring expression *Bālhaveya*, an import of *Sāmūra*, which certainly is the Central Asian fur still known under the same name and still imported from there into India.

Kamboja. The Sanskrit writers and Aśoka's inscriptions refer by it to Sistan and the portion of Afghanistan adjacent to it. But there is enough authority to hold that the Hindus knew also a *Northern Kāmboja* on the other side of the Himālaya, i.e., in Central Asia. See, for instance, Rājaśekhara. *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, p. 94. Many of the Sanskrit writers include communities on the other side of the Himālaya amongst the Himālayan peoples.

Madra. The name might be traced in the present *Maṇḍra* (Jhelam District), which is a centre of Punjabi soldiers and a handsome population. It is to be seen whether there is any *Maṇḍra* caste also.

Jāts. Abū Sālih, the Arab writer on the history of Sindh (discussed in this issue), quoting a Hindu book, says that the original population of Sindh was composed of Jats and Meds under Jayadratha (Jandrāt¹). The *Mahā-Bhārata Yatri* is thus confirmed by Abū Sālih's original Hindu authority.

Mekalā. *Mekalā* of the Purāṇas is the *Maikal* Hills of the Central Provinces.

K. P. J.

¹ Misread *y* for *n* in Persian script.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Mahābhārata—Southern Recension—critically edited by P. P. S. Sastri, B.A. (Oxon.), Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras, *Ādi Parvan*, in two parts, 1,463 pages, 7" × 4½", published by V. Ramaswami Sastrulu and Sons, 252, Esplanade, Madras, 1931.

The text of the Southern Recension at a hundred thousand Ślokas was, as pointed out by Professor Sastri, the editor, fixed before the 11th or the 10th Century A.D. It is therefore important to have a critical edition of the Southern text. We are glad to see the Editor of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. of the Tanjore Library taking up the task of editing the text. As to the value of the Southern text in comparison with the Northern one, we have to reserve our opinion until the whole text is edited. Mr. Sastri has already put forward claims in favour of the Southern recension. What may be at present said is that the old view might need reconsideration. We welcome Mr. Sastri's effort and commend the enterprise of the publishers. The printing is excellent and the volumes very handy.

K. P. J.

Bhārata-Bhūmi aur uske Nivāsī ('India and Her Inhabitants') by Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra, with an Introduction by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, pp. 410, 7½" × 4½", published by the Author from Kamaliya, Punjab, Price Rs. 2/4.

The author has attempted a geography of India in Hindi taking account of ethnology and languages and the factors of physical features influencing race-movements and history. Rai Bahadur Hira Lal in his *Introduction* commends the labour and insight of the author, which I endorse. The author's view

about the identification of the *Strī-rājya* with Tibet is an illustration of going astray. But new and reliable matters based on solid research abound in this closely-printed little book.

K. P. J.

A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics. By Surendra Kishor Chakraborty, M.A., Professor of History, Ananda Mohan College, Mymensingh, Bengal, 1931, 7" x 5", p. 242.

The sub-title is given as 'The Indigenous System: From the Earliest Times to the Rise of the Imperial Guptas, Third Century A.D. With special Reference to Northern India.' The book is divided into eight chapters: (I) Evolution of coinage, (II) Evolution of coinage in India, (III) Weights and Denominations, (IV) Metrology, (V) Fabrication, (VI) Relation to State, (VII) Symbols, (VIII) Provenance and Types.

The first impression in glancing through the book is that it is an amateurish work. In Chapter I, opinions well-known for accuracy or otherwise in fairly standard works are quoted *in extenso*, but little-known interesting data are apparently unknown to the author. For instance, the evolution of coinage makes no mention of stone money in use on the islands of Uap in the Carolines, called *fei*: cf. *Encyclopædia of Religions and Ethics*, vol. ii, p. 869; W. H. Furness, *The Island of Stone Money*, 1910, p. 93. It has a special significance now regarding the use of the ring-stones discovered at Mahenjo-Daro, discussed on p. 62 of vol. i, of *Mahenjo-Daro* (1931), by Sir John Marshall—'Dr. A. B. Cook has drawn my attention to the fact that relatively small discs of quartz and sandstone pierced with a hole in the centre were once used for money in Togoland.' In Chapter IV, the treatment of the question of bimetallism (pp. 78, 80, 96) is obviously inadequate. 'The gradual deterioration' (p. 95) is soluble in terms of Gresham's law that 'bad money drives out good money', (cf. L. R. Ehrlich, *The Question of Silver*, p. 8) and contemporary history supplies reasons for such depreciation (cf. also E.

Cardwell, *Lectures on the Coinage of the Greeks and Romans*, p. 10).

The above impression of inadequacy is further strengthened by the author's description of the provenance and coin-types (Chapter VIII). It is not enough to refer to the symbols on the Śuṅga coins (Chapter V, p. 206): 'male figure with five-rayed head', 'solar symbol of disc', 'five-pointed flames'; an attempt should have been made to discuss this symbol in the light of the statement in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitram*—*Baim-bikānām bimboṣṭhi idameva kulavratam*. Again, in discussing the Jānapada coins (Chapter VIII, pp. 189 ff.) the author should have referred to this regular prerogative of Jānapadas, as proved by the Nalanda seal described by Jayaswal in the *Indian Antiquary* (1928). The established position of Jānapada as an institution may be gathered from the Tibetan book translated from Sanskrit—*Subhagānām Grīvālamkāra Magadha-mahālpeṣu dharmasena-vādī dharmabhogasya kramavitatināma*: in 'La Collection Tibétaine von Canstadt de l'Institut'. *Magadhamahālpeṣu*, 'dans les grandes et petites communautés du Magadha' (J.A., Octobre-Décembre, 1924, p. 337).

In discussing 'Relation to State', the author entirely misses the significance of the temples: "Banking is a very ancient institution in world history. The first banks and bankers were the temples" (*The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, 1930, p. 660).

In short, the book is good enough as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough.

A. B.-Ś.

History of Orissa : From the earliest times to the British Period. By R. D. Banerji, M.A., Manindra Chandra Nundy Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University, Vol. I, pp. 351+XII, 10½"×7", 1930; Vol. II, pp. 456+35 (Index) XX, same size, 1931, total number of plates 152; published by R. Chatterji, Modern Press, 120/2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Price Rs. 20/- + Rs. 20/-.

These two volumes on stout paper and with good illustrations mark a standard in Indian publication. Indian authors used to suffer from inferior work of their publishers. The two volumes before us give satisfaction that material clothing is not wanting for this production of the late Mr. R. D. Banerji.

In the series of provincial histories, the value of which I have already pointed out in reviewing in this Journal the *Kadamba Kula* or the History of Karnataka by Mr. Moraes, the *History of Orissa* will occupy a prominent place. The first volume deals with the Hindu and the second with the Musalman and British periods. It is a political history, but it is so rich in illustrations that it serves also as a history of architecture and sculpture in Orissa. The Kiching Sculptures, excavated by Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda in the state of Mayurbhanja, illustrated in the second volume disclose some wonderful pieces of art. Three of these will rank amongst the best sculptures of the world. The greatest period of the art of Indian Sculpture is neither the Sanchi-Bharhut nor the Gupta (from Udayagiri to Elephanta), but the mediæval from Java to Kiching. It is only in this period when the art-language of Hindu Sculptor reached its noblest expression. It gives me great delight to see that period so well represented in the *History of Orissa*. Mr. Banerji's plates fully illustrate that architecture of Orissa is not Orissan but is only an illustration of the architecture of the period, be its example at Khajuraho, Bhuvaneswar or elsewhere in India, and whether applied to Jaina, Śaiva, or Vaiṣṇava worship. Mr. Banerji in the two last chapters has treated mediæval architecture and sculptures at length.

Mr. R. D. Banerji has filled up many gaps in Orissan history. He devoted considerable time to this work. Nor was any other scholar better fitted to execute it. He was most familiar with the epigraphic materials, and fully conversant with Muhamadan records. The account of Tuṅgas, Sulkiś and Nandas, the new light on the origin of the Bhanja dynasty, the materials bearing on the Kesaris, Karas and the Gangas, now give a connected view of Orissa's past. The British and the preceding periods are deservingly rich in detail. The maps of

Khāravela's conquests and the oversea empire of Kalinga are amongst striking features with which the volumes are replete.

The book is posthumous. A few references have been left unfilled in the footnotes. The views of the author in the appendix on the Rajput origins will not be acceptable, while he has added some illuminating discussions on architecture and plastic art.

The publisher could render no better memorial to that great scholar, the author, than he has done by the handsome execution of the favourite production of the author. Mr. Chatterji deserves public thanks for it.

K. P. J.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's office on Sunday, December the 6th, 1931.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (Vice-President).

Mr. H. Lambert.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on August the 2nd, 1931.

2. The monthly accounts for July to November, 1931, were submitted and passed.

3. (a) A resolution of condolence and respectful sympathy with Lady Mullick on the death of her husband, Sir B. K. Mullick, was passed on a motion from the Chair.

(b) A resolution of condolence and respectful sympathy with the family of Rai Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhury in their bereavement was passed on a motion from the Chair.

(c) A resolution of condolence and respectful sympathy with the family of Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Hara Prasad Sastri, M.A., C.I.E., in their bereavement was passed on a motion from the Chair.

4. The following arrears of payment to the Society were written off :—

	Rs.
(i) Sir B. K. Mullick	10
(ii) Mr. Adityanarain Misra ..	6
(iii) Rai Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhury	12

5. Read letter No. 942-E.R., dated August 30th, 1931, from the Assistant Secretary for Government, Education and Development Department.

Resolved: that the Assistant Secretary be informed that since Pandit Nagendranath Mahapatra had actually travelled from Cuttack to Patna *via* Howrah, and that since this was the most reasonable route to employ, and that since the Pandit had been unaware that Government required him to employ another route, the Council had sanctioned the excess fare of Rs. 8-12-6.

6. Considered the advisability of placing the names of the following magazines on our exchange list:—

- (i) The publications of the Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar.
- (ii) 'Ganga'—Sultanganj, Bhagalpur.

Resolved: that the publications of the Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar, be placed on our exchange list.

7. Read Dr. Sarkar's letter, dated October 2nd, 1931.

Resolved: that, though special permission to read in the Society's Library may be granted to individual students, no general permission be granted.

8. Resolved: that the Annual General Meeting of the Society be held during University week in March, 1932, at a date to be decided later in accordance with H.E. the President's convenience.

9. Passed the B.M. Press bills for Rs. 1,156-14-0 (bills Nos. 2703, 2724-2735) for the printing of the Society's Journal, Vol. XVII, parts 2 and 3.

J. L. HILL,
Honorary General Secretary.

**Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the
Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in
the Society's office on Sunday, March 6th,
1932.**

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (Vice-President).
Mr. H. Lambert.
Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.
Mr. Sham Bahadur.
Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh.
Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.
Mr. D. N. Sen.
Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.
Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council, held on December 6th, 1931.

2. Passed the monthly accounts for December, 1931, for January and February, 1932, submitted by the Honorary Treasurer.

3. Elected as a member of the Society Sardar Thakur Kishore Singh Barhut, State Historian, Patiala.

4. Placed on the Society's exchange list the publications of the Archaeological Department, Travancore.

Considered and found unsuitable for exchange the Allaha-bad University Magazine.

5. Read letter No. 1342, dated January 22nd, 1932, from the Imperial Bank of India, Patna.

Passed a resolution specifically authorising Mr. Sham Bahadur, Treasurer of the Society, to operate on the Society's account with the Imperial Bank.

6. Read and recorded letter No. 355-E., dated January 25th, 1932, from the Secretary to Government, Education and Development Department.

7. Read letter No. 210-H.C., dated January 26th, 1932, from the Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission, Calcutta.

Resolved: that the Secretary be informed that if the Commission will propose the revision of the list of Christian tombs and monuments in any particular district, the Society will endeavour to find a member willing to undertake the work of correction.

8. Read and recorded a letter, dated January 1st, 1932, from Professor O. M. Lind.

9. Wrote off the arrear of subscription of Col. T. R. Filgate, C.I.E., (deceased).

10. Resolved: that the amended bill No. 65, dated February 19th, 1932, for Rs. 3,309-6-0 from the Government Printing Press be paid.

11. Read a letter, dated February 19th, 1932, from Messrs. Hartsons and Co.

Resolved: that the balance (Rs. 4-12-0) of the bill submitted on October 22nd, 1930, be paid; but that Messrs. Hartsons be asked to amend their bill No. A-823 of February 6th, 1932, in accordance with the rates usually charged.

12. Sanctioned the sum of Rs. 14-9-2 spent in excess of Government's grant for the cataloguing of Palm leaf Manuscripts in Orissa in the year 1931-32.

13. Discussed arrangements for the Annual General Meeting of the Society to be held on March 17th, 1932.

J. L. HILL,

Honorary General Secretary.

9th March, 1932.

**Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of
the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held
on the 17th March, 1932, in the Society's
Council Room, the President of the Society,
His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown
Stephenson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., presiding.**

1. On the motion of Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal Rai the following were elected officers and members of the Council for the year 1932-33 :—

President—His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Secretary—Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A.

Joint Secretary—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer—Mr. Sham Bahadur, Bar-at-Law.

Librarian—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Editorial Board :—

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar-at-Law, *Editor*.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian, who are *ex-officio* members) :—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Mr. P. C. Manuk, Bar-at-Law.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, M.A., D.Litt.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

Mr. H. Lambert, M.A.

2. Mr. Sham Bahadur, Honorary Treasurer, presented the annual statement of accounts for 1931-32, which was taken as read.

3. The Vice-President, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, reviewed the work of the Society during the past year.

4. Mr. D. N. Sen proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.

19th March, 1932.

J. L. HILL,
Honorary General Secretary.

Annual Report for 1931-32 of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

I. MEMBERSHIP.

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Journal on the 31st December, 1930, was 174. In the course of the ensuing twelve months the Society lost one of its ordinary members by death and two by resignation and five subscribers to the Journal: a total loss of eight. On the other hand the names of five new members to the Journal were enrolled. The total number of members and subscribers on the roll on the 31st December, 1931, was, accordingly, 171. Among the life-members there has been no change. Among the honorary members there was one death. Thus the number of honorary members and life-members on the roll on the 31st December, 1931, was 12 and 15 respectively, making a grand total of 198.

II. JOURNAL.

During the period under review Volume XVII (Parts 1, 2, 3 and 4) of the Society's Journal was published, containing 472 pages, 24 plates and one plan: Five plates of the Narsinghpur Charter of Udyotakesari Mahabhavagupta IV, three plates of Ragamala Paintings, nine plates of the Nettabhanja Grant, two plates and one plan of the Sobhanesvara Inscription of Sri Vaidyanath, four plates of the Mandasa record of Anantavarmadeva and one plate of two Brahmi Seals from Buxar. Part I of Volume XVIII is in the Baptist Mission Press.

The Editorial Board is the same as that of the year 1931.

III. MEETINGS.

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 27th March, 1931, in the Wheeler Senate House. His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, President of the Society, presided. After the transaction of the formal business the Vice-President, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A.,

reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. Professor Radha Krishnam, Regius Professor of Calcutta University, then addressed the Society. The subject of his extremely popular address was 'Ancient Idealism and Modern Science'.

Meetings of the Council, elected at the last Annual General Meeting, were held on the 2nd August and 6th December, 1931, and 6th March, 1932.

IV. LIBRARY.

During the year 438 books (645 volumes), of which 7 were Sanskrit, 5 Pali, 10 Hindi, 1 Oriya, and 1 Telegu works, were added to the Library. Of the total 54 were presented, while 155 were obtained by exchange and 229 by purchase. On the 31st December, 1931, the Library contained 5,755 volumes as compared with 5,110 volumes at the end of the previous year. Out of the Mayurbhanj donation to the Library the sum of Rs. 403-5-10 was spent on books during the financial year up to February, 1932, and Rs. 3,054-4-4 was spent during March, 1931.

V. SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS.

The search for manuscripts proceeded steadily throughout the year under the supervision of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri. Pandit Vishnu Lal Sastri was employed in the Darbhanga district and catalogued 858 manuscripts from June, 1931, to February, 1932. He also brought to light some old judgments. During the rest of the time he was employed at Headquarters to arrange his work of the previous year. The Oriya Pandit, Pandit Chintamani Misra, worked in the Feudatory States of Ranpur, Nayagarh, Khandapara and Kalahandi and catalogued 154 manuscripts from October, 1931, to January, 1932. For the rest of the period he was employed at Headquarters to arrange the work done by his predecessors.

The new Oriya Pandit, Pandit Chintamani Misra, was appointed on the 10th March, 1931. His services will terminate on the 9th March, 1932.

VI. GENERAL.

The Society lost its only Indian honorary member, the distinguished Oriental scholar Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Hara

Prasad Sastri, C.I.E., of Calcutta, and a member of the Council, Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhury.

The following were added to our exchange list :—

‘Kern Institute,’ Leiden.

‘Karnatak Historical Research Society,’ Dharwar.

‘Archæological Department,’ Gwalior State.

The Council Room of the Society has been much adorned with photographic portraits of eminent past officers. The present Vice-President has also made a gift to the Society of some remarkably imposing Himalayan photographs of his own taking.

VII.—The Annual Statement of Accounts is being presented by the Honorary Treasurer.

6th March, 1932.

J. L. HILL,
Honorary Council Secretary.

Statement of Accounts from April, 1931, to February, 1932, of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

A. The actuals for 1930-31 showed a closing balance of Rs. 1,560-0-8 with the amount transferred to fixed deposit, viz., Rs. 9,781-12-0; the total balance to the credit of the Society was Rs. 11,341-12-8 at the end of 1930-31.

B. As regards the actuals up to the 29th February, 1932, the current account closing balance was Rs. 1,809-8-0. To this must be added the amount on fixed deposit, viz., Rs. 8,872-7-3, which gives a total of Rs. 10,681-15-3.

The position of the Society is, therefore, financially sound.

C. The chief sources of income are the Government grant, subscriptions, sale-proceeds of the Society's Journal and interest on fixed deposits. The subscriptions realised up to the 29th February, 1932, amounted to Rs. 1,282-1-0. Up to the 28th February, 1931, the realised amount was Rs. 1,967-11-7. The estimate for the whole financial year was Rs. 2,000.

Our realisations from the sale-proceeds of published literature amounted to Rs. 1,431-11-1 up to the end of February, 1931. For the same period last year, the amount was Rs. 1,899-15-0.

The interest on fixed deposits amounted to Rs. 436-7-9 up to February, 1932.

17th March, 1932.

S. BAHADUR,
Honorary Treasurer.

Actuals up to February 29, 1932.

INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.	
		Actuals.	Revised Budget.
		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Subscriptions	..	1,282 1 0	2,000 0 0
Sale of Journal	..	1,388 12 1	750 0 0
Miscellaneous (a)	..	7,383 15 9	....
Postage Recovered	..	17 7 0	30 0 0
Sale of Catalogue of Mithila Manuscript	..	8 12 0	25 0 0
Sale of Buchanan Report	..	7 8 0	100 0 0
Government Grant	..	6,455 0 0	6,455 0 0
<i>Opening Balance :—</i>			
Hathwa Fund	..	455 8 1	1,643 14 11½
Darbhangha Fund	..	65 7 11½	3,324 10 10
Mayurbhanj Fund	..	837 8 3½	2,036 4 6½
General Balance	..	201 8 4	4,336 14 4
Interest on F.D.	..	....	330 0 0
GRAND TOTAL	..	18,103 8 6	21,031 12 8
		Actuals.	Revised Budget.
		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Establishment	..	1,294 15 8	1,344 0 0
Mithila Pandit	..	1,278 1 0	56 4 0
Oriya Pandit	..	806 9 11	1,360 0 0
Telephone	..	225 0 0	63 12 0
Printing Charges	..	4,406 3 0	990 5 4
Postage ..	..	340 7 3	225 0 0
Stationery	..	65 6 0	7,350 9 0
Library	..	506 15 7	400 0 0
Electrical Charges	..	251 10 0	90 0 0
Out of Hathwa Fund	..	....	1,000 0 0
Out of Darbhanga Fund	..	....	360 0 0
Out of Mayurbhanj Fund	..	403 5 10	....
Furniture	..	1 0 0	2,025 0 0
Miscellaneous (a)	..	6,714 6 3	2,086 4 6½
Closing Balance (a)	..	16,294 0 6	85 11 8
Closing Balance (b)	..	1,809 8 0	300 0 0
GRAND TOTAL	..	18,103 8 6	17,736 14 6½
		Actuals.	Revised Budget.
		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Hathwa Fund	..	463 0 1	74 3 11½
Darbhangha Fund	..	....	434 2 5½
Mayurbhanj Fund	..	....	838 1 6
General Balance	..	....	1,809 8 0
GRAND TOTAL	..	....	3,107 0 3
General Balance in Fixed Deposit	..	....	838 1 6
Current Account	..	....	3,945 1 9
GRAND TOTAL	..	....	....

(a) This includes Rs. 6,000 sent to Fixed Deposit, Messrs. Luzac's cheque for Rs. 213-12 returned and Rs. 325 refunded to Government from Library grant.

(b) Closing Balance :—

Hathwa Fund	Rs. A. P.
Darbhangha Fund	463 0 1
Mayurbhanj Fund	74 3 11½
General Balance	434 2 5½
GRAND TOTAL	838 1 6
General Balance in Fixed Deposit	1,809 8 0
Current Account	3,107 0 3
GRAND TOTAL	838 1 6

S. BAHADUR, *Honorary Treasurer.*

(a) This includes Rs. 7,345-12-6 received from Allahabad Bank (Fixed Deposit realised with interest).

17th March, 1932.

Transliteration of the Devanagari Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

Devanāgarī.	Roman.	Devanāgarī.	Roman.
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ध	dh
उ	u	न	n
ऊ	ū	प	p
ऋ	r̥ or r̄i	फ	ph
ॠ	r̄ or r̄ī	ब	b
ऌ	l̥	भ	bh
ॡ	l̄	म	m
ए	e	य	y
ऐ	ai	र	r
ओ	o	ल	l
औ	au	व	v
क	k	श	ś
ख	kh	ष	ṣ or sh
ग	g	स	s
घ	gh	ह	h
ङ	ṅ	ळ	l̥
च	ch	˙ (Anusvāra)	m̐
छ	chh	ˆ (Anunāsika)	m̃
ज	j	: (Visarga)	ḥ
झ	jh	× (Jihvāmūliya)	ḥ
ञ	ñ	) (Upadhmanīya)	ḥ
ट	ṭ	₹ (Avagraha)	'
ठ	ṭh	Udātta	—
ड	ḍ	Svarita	^
ढ	ḍh	Anudātta	'
ण	ṇ		

JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

JUNE, 1932.

CONTENTS.

Leading Articles.

	PAGES
I. The Skirts of Nanda Devi (with 4 plates and 1 map)	117-128
<i>By the Vice-President.</i>	
II. Mimāṃsā-Śāstra-Sarvasva	129-200
<i>By Halayudha, Edited by Umesa Misra.</i>	
III. The Yaunas of the Purāṇas and the Last Kushāṇa Emperor in India	201-206
<i>By K. P. Jayaswal.</i>	
IV. A Passage in Samudra Gupta's Inscription at Allahabad and Gupta Coinage	207-211
<i>By K. P. Jayaswal.</i>	
V. The Kākas—their Location	212-213
<i>By K. P. Jayaswal.</i>	
VI. An Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur Dis- trict (with 1 plate)	214-221
<i>By Sudhakar Patnaik, B.A.</i>	
VII. Note on an Oriya Copperplate of the Sambal- pur District	222-224
<i>By G. Ramadas, B.A.</i>	

Miscellaneous Contributions.

	PAGES
I. A Note on 'Tikina' and 'Khasa' .. By K. P. Jayaswal.	225
II. Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E. (b. 6th December, 1852—d. 17th November, 1931)	226-234
By K. P. Jayaswal.	

Reviews and Notices of Books.

I. Mahenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization, by Sir John Marshall	235-239
By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.).	

Notes of the Quarter.

Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held on April 24th, 1932	240-241
Annual Account for the year 1931-32	242
Transliteration of Devanagari into Roman Alphabets	243
List of Members of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society on 31st December, 1931	244-254

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[PART II.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—The Skirts of Nanda Devi.

By the Vice-President.

I.

1. *The Nanda Devi Massif.*

‘If heaven’s face clouds or clears,

Dawn and noon and sunset are one before thy face.’

The inviolate snows of Nanda Devi, the twin-peaked goddess of Kumaon, rise to a height of 25,660 feet in her western peak and of 24,379 on the eastern side. Apart from its sacred associations, as the highest mountain in the British Empire it has naturally claimed attention in recent years from lovers of mountains; but the only serious attempt which has been made on either of the peaks was the gallant effort of Dr. T. G. Longstaff made from the Gori Valley by way of the Panchu Glacier in 1905, which stopped short at 20,000 feet. Reconnaissances have since that time been made from glaciers on the other side of the mountain, the results of which cannot be regarded as unduly encouraging. Twelve years ago a local engineer contributed to the log-book which is maintained at Phurkiya, at the foot of the Pindari Glacier, an interesting note on the mountains of the neighbourhood, in which he committed himself to the statement that the ascent of Kamet was

practically impossible. The statement stands on record as a warning that to say this of any mountain is rash; but it may be said with certainty that to ascend Nanda Devi would be a great achievement, to be accomplished after overcoming difficulties greater than those to be met on higher mountains, although the outskirts of Nanda Devi are more easily approached than those of any other giant of the Himalaya.

I will in due course describe the pleasant and easy route to the valleys of the Pindar and Goriganga, in the hope that some of our members may be encouraged to visit these places and to return to them, attracted to attempt something in this field of research and to add to our knowledge of this sacred and adorable mountain. It was with a beautiful sense of fitness that the ancients identified the mountain with the glorious daughter of Himawat, Parvati Devi, bride of Mahādeva. For Nanda Devi, and in particular her eastern peak, is lovely beyond description, claiming adoration whether she is seen from far or near, from some high point on the moraine of a glacier, or filling the heavens in all her glory as she strikes down a side valley of the Goriganga, or lit by the rising or setting sun while the rest of the world is in darkness in the upper reaches of the Pindar. Too often, at all seasons of the year, clouds veil her slopes; but clear of cloud or clouded she is always lovely.

The mountain mass which culminates in the peaks of Nanda Devi forms the watershed between the valleys of the Dhaoli and the Alaknanda on the west and the Goriganga on the east. The two great peaks, guarded by precipitous cliffs which the passage of avalanches has smoothed and polished, rise from their sea of ice on the eastern side of the massif. To the north of this sea of ice are the peaks of Kalanka (22,735) and Changa-bang (22,516), while farther west is Dunagiri (23,184), overlooking the Dhaoli Valley and the pilgrim route to the sources of the Ganges. South of Dunagiri the Rishi Ganga, flowing from the edge of the Nanda Devi 'crater', cuts a trench through the massif, which according to the survey map, should afford a means of access to the crater. The map was unfortunately found to be incorrect when the valley was entered from the north by Dr. Longstaff. The mountain may perhaps be ultimately ascend-

ed by this route, but the results of Dr. Longstaff's explorations are not greatly encouraging.

On the southern side of the Rishi Ganga trench is Nanda Ghunti (21,286), the bridal veil of Parvati, south of which is Nandakna (20,700). Beyond Nandakna are the western slopes of Triśūl. The skirts of the massif on the western side are probably the most generally known, from their proximity to the much travelled route from Hardwar, and to the routes from Mussoorie and Ranikhet, the latter of which follows the Pindar Valley from near Gwaldam to Karnaprayag, one of the five great prayags, where the sacred stream of the Pindar joins the Ganges. On the southern side the main massif is bounded by the valley of the Pindar, which flows from the Pindari Glacier. This is the easiest of access of the glaciers of the Himalaya; and probably more people have stood on the Pindari than on all the rest of the glaciers of Kumaon taken together. But for all that, even on this route, one rarely meets another traveller; and far fewer than should do so take advantage of the amenities provided by the District Board, by which the traveller may reach the foot of the Pindari Glacier without even needing tents, by a road almost completely bridged, on which he may if he chooses ride practically from beginning to end. On this side of the massif we find first the group of mountains known from its curious formation as Triśūl, from ancient days the Vijaya of Mahādeva, if not Mahādeva himself. This group, which also overlooks the pilgrim route, culminates in three peaks (23,406, 22,490 and 22,360), of majestic appearance, which from a distant view even rival Nanda Devi. The whole of the southern side of the massif slopes down to the Pindar river, which flows from the Pindari Glacier, and is augmented on its course by the outflow from innumerable glaciers, which are formed at every fold in the mountains. The massif terminates on the south-east in Nanda Kot (22,530), which forms the southern wall of the Pindari Glacier, contributing largely to it by its tributary glaciers, and throwing out a long arm which gradually slopes to lower levels. Sundardhunga (21,858) lies between Nanda Kot and Triśūl; and east of Sundardhunga are two peaks, 21,624 on its north-east, and 20,740 rising from the slopes of Nanda Kot, between which

lies Traill's Pass, by which a passage has been found, over the Pindari Glacier, to the Lwanl Glacier and the Goriganga Valley.

On the east the massif slopes steeply down to the valley of the Goriganga, which takes its rise in the Milam Glacier and in the glaciers north of Doong. The Milam Glacier flows down from two great peaks, 22,940 and 23,320, on the north-east of the massif, fed by subsidiary glaciers throughout its course until its snout is reached at about 12,000 feet, a little above the village of Milam. From there until the river reaches Baugdiar, it is augmented by the outflow of glaciers from Nanda Devi, the Panchu and smaller glaciers on the south of it; and by the Lwanl, Salung and Poting Glaciers from the slopes of Nanda Kot.

A high ridge bounds the Milam Glacier on the north, of which a branch runs south-east to form the eastern side of the Milam Glacier, culminating in an unnamed peak 22,400 feet in height. The ridge on the north continues until, after the depression which forms the Untadhura Pass (17,590), it turns to the south-east and enters Nepal. South of the Untadhura Pass, glaciers on both sides form one of the sources of the Goriganga, which may be regarded as the eastern boundary of the Nanda Devi Massif. On the north, the Girthi river rises close to the Untadhura Pass, and divides the main Himalayan Range from the Zaskar Range and Tibet. The glaciers of the upper Girthi Valley are short and steep, heavily crevassed, with a small discharge of water. The Girthi flows westward in a torrential stream, between precipitous cliffs, until it joins the Dhauli, which forms the western boundary of the Nanda Devi mountain mass; and the passage of the valley is difficult but not impracticable.

The history of exploration in these valleys is interesting. Although from the earliest times there must have been traffic between Tibet and the upper valley of the Ganges by the Niti and Mana Passes, an idea prevailed until 1808 that the Ganges rose near Kailas in Tibet, and that it passed over the Himalaya in a great cataract. Maps of the eighteenth century were based on an attempted survey made by two Lamas who were sent by the Emperor of China in 1711 to prepare a map of

Tibet and the sources of the Ganges. A revolution took place in Tibet while the Lamas were engaged on this work, which was thus brought to a hasty conclusion; and their map of the sources of the Ganges and Hundes was based on oral information. This map, according to which the Ganges began its course on a line approximate to the true course of the Sutlej, and then took a great bend to the south, formed the basis of maps of that area until in 1784 Anquetil Du Perron published the result of the researches of Father Tieffenthaller, a Jesuit missionary in India; but the missionary, who had actually not travelled very high up the valley of the Ganges, gave information little more accurate than that of the Lamas.¹ In 1808, at the instance of the President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Surveyor-General deputed Captain F. V. Raper and Lieutenant Webb to survey the Ganges from Hardwar to Gangotri. They were stopped when they reached Badrinath; but one of their Hindu assistants travelled farther: and they were able to delineate with greater accuracy than had hitherto been possible the course of the Ganges from its source, and to report with certainty that the river did not rise on the farther side of the Himalaya. In 1812 the enterprising veterinary surgeon William Moorcroft travelled up the Dhaul Valley, through Malari and Niti, crossed the Niti Pass and penetrated to Gartok, whence he travelled to the Manasarovar Lakes. Accounts of these journeys were published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of that of Raper and Webb in the eleventh volume of the *Asiatic Researches* and that of Moorcroft in the twelfth. In the eleventh volume H. T. Colebrooke, commenting on the achievements of Raper and Webb, remarked that the Himalaya would probably be found to contain mountains higher than Mont Blanc and to be actually one of the highest ranges of mountains in the world. He contributed to the twelfth volume an article on the height of the mountains, based on further observations made by officers from the plains and from Kathmandu, in which he expressed his conclusion that the height of Dwalagiri was between 26,462 and 27,677 feet; of

¹ *Asiatic Researches*, XI, 429.

Jamnautri 25,500; of another peak, probably Nanda Kot, 22,768 feet; and of mountains of Nepal, visible from Patna, 23,052, 23,262, and 24,625 respectively. Colebrooke might have made more startling claims than he did for the supremacy of the Himalaya if more attention had been given to its culminating peaks in the east; but Dwalagiri, of which the height is now assumed to be 26,800, was sufficient for his purpose. He was very nearly right in his estimate of the height of Dwalagiri, and probably nearly right in the peak observed from Pilibhit, which is nearer to our country, if not actually part of it. Colebrooke's articles aroused a storm of criticism, of which we may read in James Baillie Fraser's account of his own travels in the mountains.—(*Journal of a tour through part of the Snowy Range of the Himalaya Mountains*, London, 1820.) The author travelled in Kumaon; and although he commits himself to the astonishing statement that there are no glaciers in the snowy range, he did valuable work in exploring the western side of the Nanda Devi Massif and the sources of the Ganges, travelling at a time when the glaciers were covered with snow, so that he did not realise that there was ice underneath. At the same time, the statement is surprising, because he must have seen many ice-falls; and if there is anything which impresses the traveller in the Himalaya it is that every fold in the mountains holds a glacier, so that none but the largest can be given a name. He tells us of how Colebrooke's speculations were received in Europe. Humboldt on the whole accepted Colebrooke's conclusions, realising at the same time the difficulties involved by the consideration of the question of refraction of light, which have not yet been completely solved. He went farther than Colebrooke, and suggested that there were higher mountains still to be discovered, probably moved to this by Colebrooke's mention of a mountain visible at a very great distance from Patna, (which was probably Everest). But the Quarterly Reviewers attacked Colebrooke's conclusions, pointing out that at the heights which he suggested the air could not support clouds. Fraser takes no decided line; but he is troubled by the fact that Moorcroft in ascending the Niti Pass could not have approached 17,000 feet, nor he himself in reaching a similar height, because

at 17,000 feet the air would be so rarefied as to lose the power of expanding the lungs.

Thus our respected elder sister, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, was early in the field in encouraging Himalayan exploration. It is interesting to note that of the critics, the man who was really qualified to judge was right, and the rest were wrong. From this time, with further evidence continually coming from the Indian surveyors, it could no longer be maintained that Chimborazo was the highest mountain in the world; but Whymper, in his *Travels among the Great Andes of the Equator*, quotes a late echo of the controversy from the first edition of *Aurora Leigh*, (1856):

‘I learnt the royal genealogies
Of Oviedo, the internal laws
Of the Burmese empire, by how many feet
Mount Chimborazo outsoars Himmaleh.’

It is curious that Humboldt, who himself in 1802 climbed high in the Equatorial Andes, made a mistake similar to that of Fraser, reporting that they contained no glaciers.

Fraser had travelled in Kumaon during the war of 1816 and after it. From that time the high passes formed the limit of British territory; and visits to the upper Ganges valley became more frequent, although George William Traill, the Commissioner for the affairs of Kumaon, did not encourage outsiders to visit the interior of his district. His discouragement indeed placed such a check on travelling outside the beaten track in Kumaon that a whole generation passed before the existence of Naini Tal was made known to the outer world; though Traill had casually mentioned it in his ‘Statistical Account of Kumaon’, which he contributed to the sixteenth volume of *Asiatic Researches*. In the seventeenth volume, which was published in 1832, he gave an account of the Bhotia mahals of Kumaon. By that time the question of whether the Himalaya was as high as Colebrooke had imagined was no longer the subject of controversy. Traill tells us that Webb, who must have been a very accurate observer, had put the height of Nanda Devi at 25,669. Others had placed it somewhat higher; and Traill, taking a mean, puts it at 25,709, still

erring a little on the high side, as Colebrooke had done in his estimate of the height of Dwalagiri. He tells us that, of the passes, the Niti Pass was considered the most easy and the Johar, (Untadhura), the most difficult. He records a tradition, that when the Raja of Kumaon conquered the Tibetans in the Milam Valley, he made a road here, paying a rupee for every cupful of earth which was brought to the pass. 'This tale', says Traill, 'doubtless partakes of the usual style of Eastern hyperbole, but it is deprived of much of its exaggeration, on inspection of the country in that quarter'. The tale certainly is one which rather lays emphasis on the rough nature of the approach to the pass than demands belief; and if the Raja made anything approaching a road, all traces of it have now disappeared, in the tumbled mass of rock and ice, over which the traveller approaches the Untadhura. Traill's account of Nanda Devi may be quoted here.

'No volcano is positively known to exist, but there are grounds for suspecting that the Nanda Devi Peak contains something of the kind: the Bhotias and natives of neighbouring districts bear unanimous testimony to the occasional appearance of smoke on its summit: this is attributed by them to the actual residence of a deity, and has accordingly invested that peak with particular sanctity. A religious mela is held every twelfth year, at the highest accessible point, which is however about a mile from the summit: further progress is rendered impossible by a wall of perpendicular ice. The dangers and difficulties incurred by the pilgrims are represented as most appalling, and of the many hundreds who start at each successive period, not fifty find courage to complete the enterprise.'

The pilgrimage described by Traill is apparently that to the ice-cave at the foot of the Silla Samudar Glacier, on the western face of Triśūl, which as Dr. Longstaff points out is fifteen miles from Nanda Devi. (G.J. LXXI, No. 5, May 1928). Traill had in 1830 made a path up the right lateral moraine of the Pindari Glacier to the head of the upper ice-fall, by which he reached the high névé between 21,624 and 20,740, and descended to the valley of the Goriganga. He was followed in 1855 by Adolphe Schlagintweit; and when Adolphe's brothers published their account of their travels, they described the pass as Traill's Pass, the name by which it has since been known. Adolphe and Robert left Patna on the 29th of March,

1855, and travelling by palki dak and carriage dak, as one or the other was available, reached Naini Tal on the 16th of April. Adolphe left Naini Tal on the 20th of May, and reached Kathi on the 27th. On the 31st he crossed Traill's Pass, and descended by the Lwanl Glacier to the Goriganga to join his brother at Milam. Robert had left Naini Tal on the 17th of May, travelling by the ordinary route to Munsiri, and thence up the valley to Milam. They then spent some time exploring the environs of Nanda Devi and the Milam Glacier, until on the 6th of July, they crossed the Untadhura Pass, and penetrated as far as Gartok in Tibet, returning by the Mana Pass and Badrinath. While on the northern side of the passes, they attained an elevation of 22,260 feet on 'Ibi Gamin', the greatest height hitherto reached. The days had long passed when men thought that Mont Blanc stood for the greatest height at which men could breathe; and the observations of the Schlagintweits on this matter are of a kind very different from those of the earlier travellers. They attributed the diminished power of endurance which they observed above 17,000 feet to the increasing rarity of the air, and difficulties in breathing above about 20,000 to deficiency of oxygen. Their remarks on the effect of diminished pressure agree with the experience of most people at the present day, and are worth quoting:—'For the generality of people the influence of height begins at 16,500 feet, a height nearly coinciding with that of the highest pasture grounds visited by shepherds. The effects of diminished pressure are considerably aggravated by fatigue. It is surprising to what a degree it is possible for exhaustion to supervene.'

Captain Edmund Smyth, who had already distinguished himself in the Alps, crossed Traill's Pass from the Pindari Glacier in 1861. The difficulties of this crossing were increasing; the great mountaineer T. S. Kennedy was to attempt it and fail in 1883; others looked at it and abandoned the attempt; and it was not again crossed until 1926. Smyth, who was in the Kumaon Division for many years as an officer of the Education Department, travelled far and wide in the hills in the sixties, and left behind him a reputation for being able to go where birds could not fly; but he recorded no account of his

exploits, which must be regarded as unfortunate, although the explanation of his modesty may not be far to seek. In the following decade, the mountains of Kumaon were scientifically surveyed. A detailed survey was made of all the travelled routes, and the position and heights of the peaks were determined with accuracy. The internal detail is naturally less accurate; but when the magnitude of their task is considered, one can fairly find nothing but praise for the work of the surveyors. Major Kenneth Mason has recently told us how in the survey from Kashmir to Kumaon, the theodolite was taken to the top of thirty-seven mountains of over 20,000 feet and of five over 21,000.

In 1883 W. W. Graham, accompanied by the guides Emil Ross and Ulrich Kaufmann, attempted to climb Dunagiri and then entered the Rishi Valley, but was unable to reach the Nanda Devi basin. He reached the top of a peak to which he gave the name of Mount Monal, which he identified with A 21, (Changabang, 22,516). His account of his exploits became at once the subject of controversy, largely his own fault, because he made the Survey of India his antagonists by his unreasonable criticism of the survey maps. Whether his mountain was Changabang or some other peak must be regarded as doubtful. The matter is discussed by the late Mr. Arnold Mumm in his *Five months in the Himalaya* (pages 107-114). But we need not doubt that he climbed very high, since Dr. Longstaff is satisfied that he actually climbed Changabang, and Mr. Douglas Freshfield has added his testimony, (*A.J.*, Vol. XXIII, No. 173).

In 1893 Dr. Kurt Boeckh visited this area, of which he has given a description in his *Indische Gletscherfahrten*. He visited the Pindari Glacier, whence he returned to Kathi and crossed the hills to the Goriganga Valley. He then went up to Milam, and crossed the Untadhura Pass, descending by way of the Girthi Valley to Malari, and returning by Joshimath.

In 1905, Dr. T. G. Longstaff explored the approaches to Trisül from the south, and the approaches to Nanda Devi and Nanda Kot from the Goriganga Valley. I need not here give details of his journeys which will be described in due course. In 1907, he returned to this area, accompanied by General Bruce

and the late Mr. Arnold Mumm, with the guides Alexis and Henri Brocherel of Courmayeur, and Moritz Inderbinen of Zermatt. The party explored the Bagini Glacier, and crossed the ridge between Dunagiri and Changabang at 20,100 feet. According to the survey map, they should when they had crossed the Bagini Pass have found themselves in a branch of the great ice-basin which surrounds Nanda Devi, but the map was found to be incorrect, and they descended the Rhamani Glacier to the Rishi Valley. From here, crossing the Betatoli Glacier, and ascending by the left moraine of the Trisūli Glacier, Dr. Longstaff accompanied by the Brocherels achieved on the 12th of June his memorable ascent of Trisūl (23,406). Dr. Longstaff, who has made this region peculiarly his own, again visited it in May, 1927, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Rutledge. The party explored the sources of the Nandakini, looking for a mountaineer's pass between Nanda Ghunti and Trisūl. An account of their travels was given in the *Geographical Journal*, Vol. lxxi, No. 5, of May, 1928.

In 1925, Mr. Hugh Rutledge, then Deputy Commissioner of Almora, accompanied by Mrs. Rutledge and Colonel (now Major-General) R. C. Wilson, had attempted to cross Traill's Pass from the Pindari Glacier. On that occasion they were not successful; but their reconnaissance was of great value to them in the following year, when they succeeded in crossing the pass from the north. The ascent is described by Major-General Wilson in the *Alpine Journal*, No. 236 of May, 1928, and the reconnaissance by Mr. Rutledge in the first number of the *Himalayan Journal*.

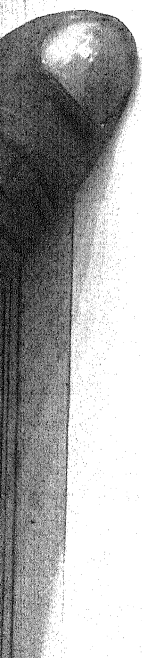
Much has necessarily been omitted in this brief survey of exploration in this area; but I may conclude with a mention of the end of William Moorcroft, one of the most remarkable of the earlier travellers. A veterinary surgeon, and superintendent of the Company's stud, his real passion was for travel and exploration; and after the conclusion of the war with Nepal, he obtained permission to set out on his travels again, with the object of discovering whether horses could be usefully imported from the country beyond Bashahr. He travelled through Bashahr to Ladakh, and thence down to the Punjab, and through

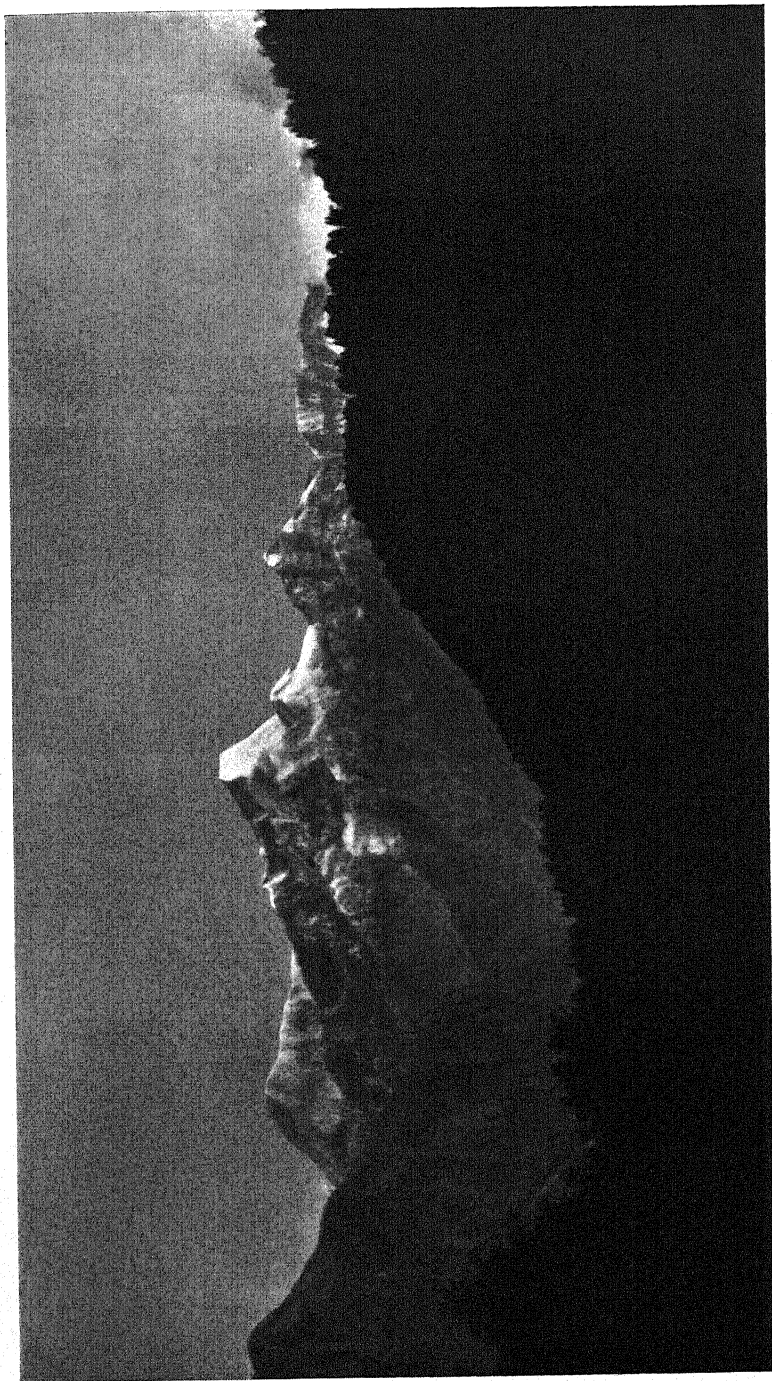
Peshawar to Kabul, whence he reached Bokhara, where he died of fever. His account of his travels, so far as his account had reached India was published by Horace Hayman Wilson in 1841. Strange rumours of his end were current, as that he had penetrated to Lhasa in disguise and lived there as a monk, but we need not doubt that Wilson's account of his life and death is correct.



J.B.O.R.S. 1932.

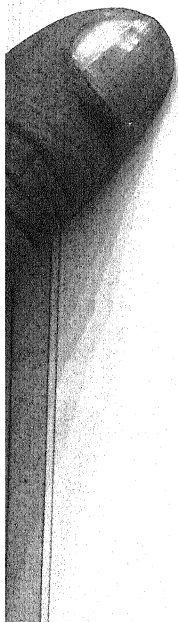
*DAWN AND NOON AND SUNSET ARE ONE BEFORE THY FACE.
(NANDA DEVI E. PEAK FROM THE LWANL GLACIER.)*

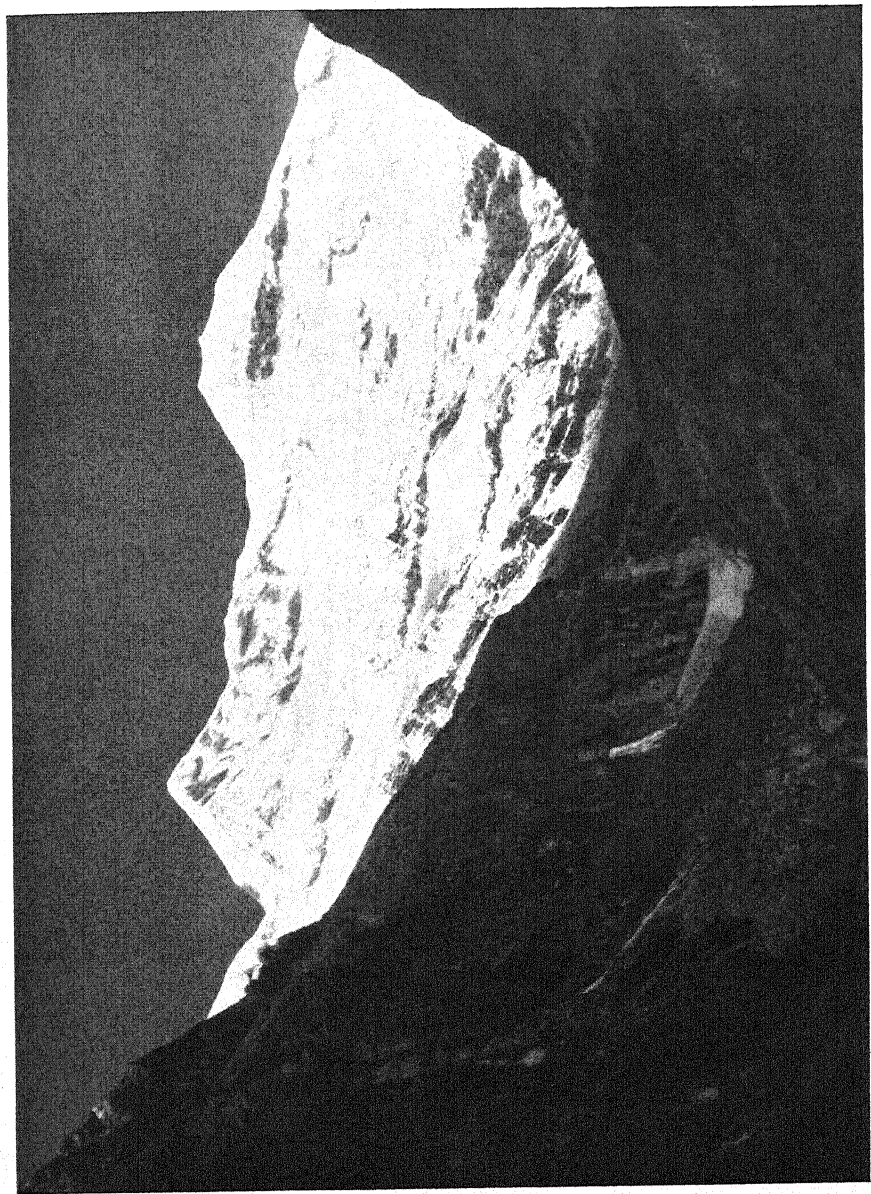




NANDA KOT FROM KHATI.

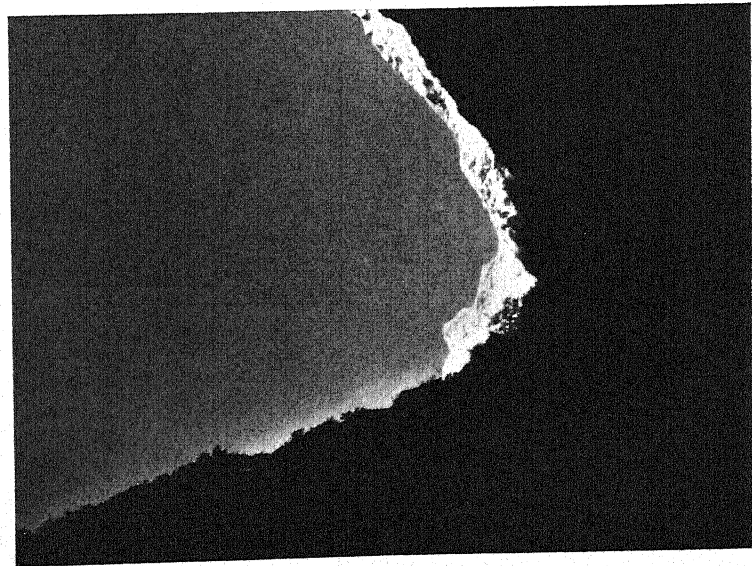
J.B.O.R.S. 1932.





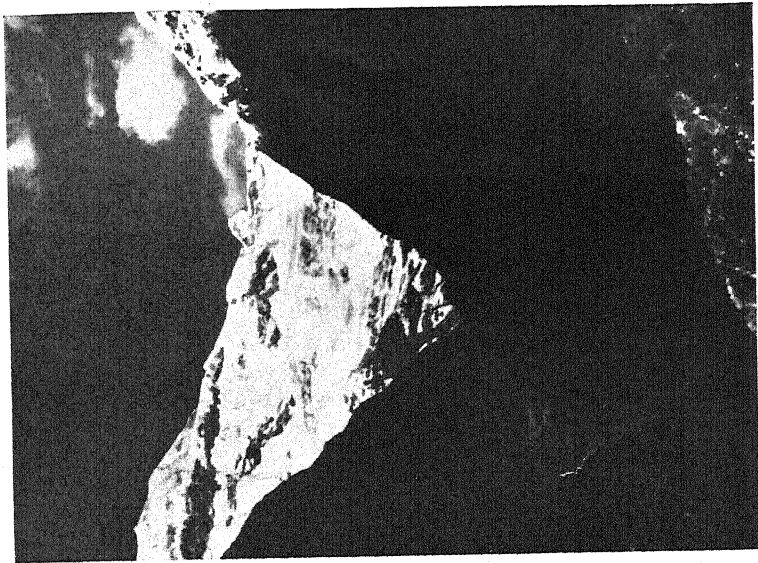
J.B.O.R.S. 1932

21024 FROM NEAR PHURKIYA.



J.B.O.R.S. 1922.

NANDA DEVI FROM DIWALI.

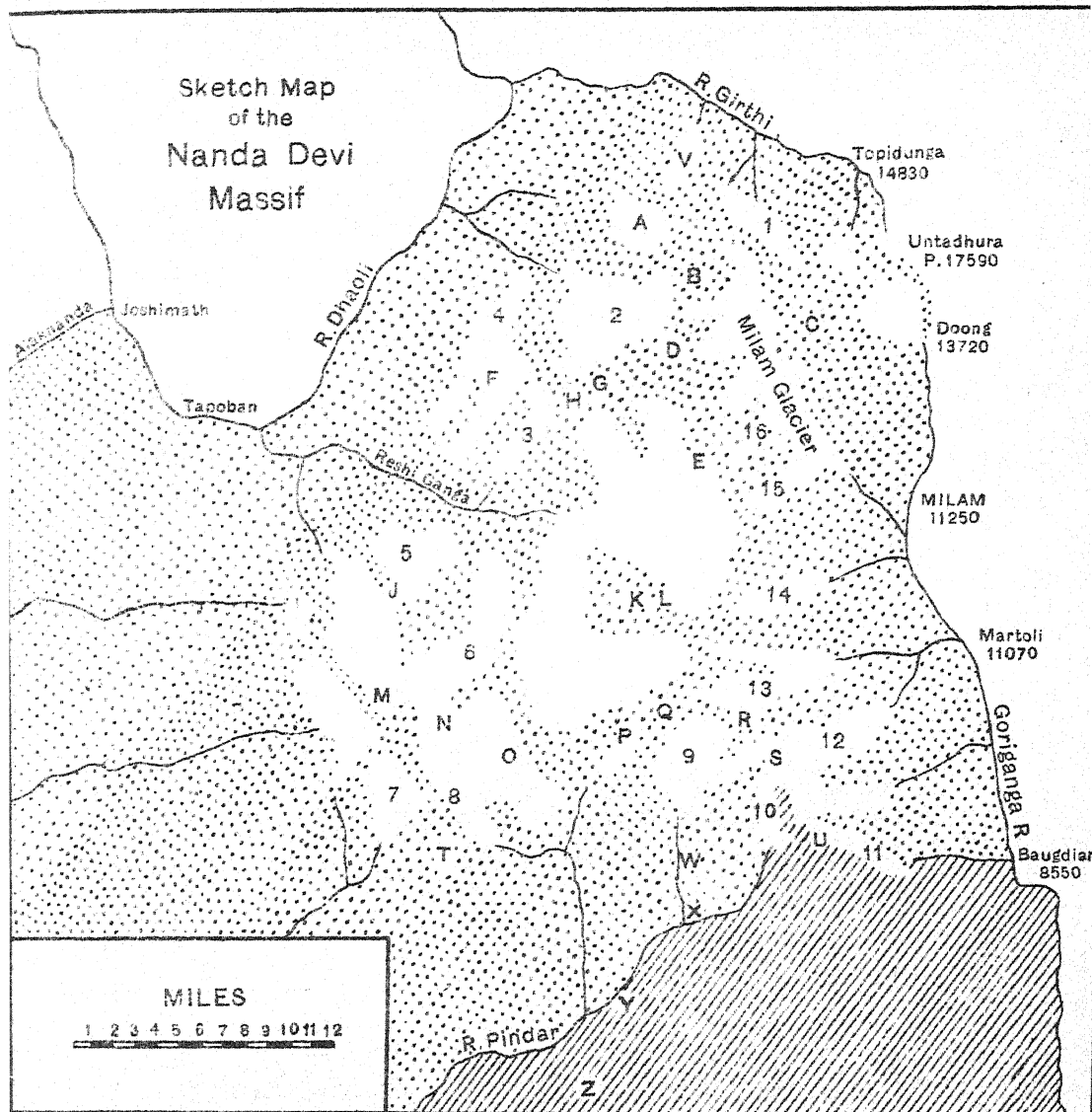


LOOKING NORTH FROM PHURKIYA

(NANDA DEVI IS VISIBLE BEHIND THE SLOPES OF 21624).



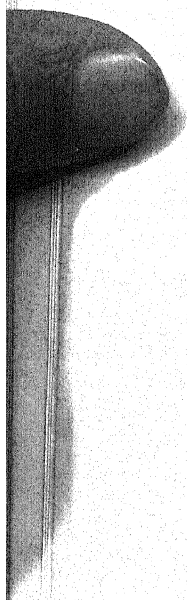
Sketch Map of the Nanda Devi Massif



A. 21341
B. 23220
C. 22400
D. 22940
E. 21772
F. Duhagiri 23184
G. Kalanka 22735
H. Changabang 22516
I. Nanda Ghunti 21286
J. 20842
K. NANDA DEVI 25660
L. Nanda Devi 24379
M. Trisul 23406
N. do 22490

O. Trisul E. 22360
P. 21858
Q. 21624
R. 20740
S. Nanda Kot 22530
T. Simm Saga 20010
U. 19554
V. 20344
W. Phurkiya R. H.
X. Diwali R. H.
Y. Kathi R. H.
Z. Dhakeri R. H.
GLACIERS.
1. Girthi

2. Bagini
3. Rhamani
4. Dunagiri
5. Betatoli
6. Trisuli
7. Kurumtoli
8. Sukeram
9. Pindari
10. Kuphini
11. Poting
12. Salung
13. Lwani
14. Panchu
15. Shakram
16. Mangrau.



(Continued from Vol. XVII. Pt. IV.)

न हि प्रकरणवशेन श्रुतेर्लक्षणार्थता न्याया । तस्मात् जीवने
निमित्ते पुरुषस्य प्रत्यवायपरिहाराय प्रयोगान्तरं विधीयते ।

२ सर्वशाखाप्रत्ययैककर्मताधिकरणम् ।

नामरूपधर्मविशेषपुनरुक्तिनिन्दाऽशक्तिसमाप्ति-
वचनप्रायश्चित्तान्यार्थदर्शनाच्छाखान्तरेषु कर्मभेदः
स्यात् ॥ ८ ॥

शाखान्तरेषु किमग्निहोत्रादि कर्म भिद्यते किं वा सर्व-
शाखास्वेकमेवेति संशयः ।

तत्राविशेषेण पुनः श्रुतिलक्षणादभ्यासात्प्रकरणान्तरात् भेदः ।
तथा गुणादपि कचिद्भेदः । ऐन्द्राग्नमेकादशकपालमिति कचित्
श्रुतम् । अन्यत्र तु द्वादशकपालमिति ।

तत्रावश्यमन्यतरेण कर्मण्युत्पादयितव्ये तद्गतगुणस्थोत्पत्तिशिष्ट
इति, इतरस्तत्र निवेशमलभमानो वाजिनवत् कर्मान्तरं कल्पयतीति
प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

विहितस्यापि पुरुषान्तरं प्रति विधानसम्भवाद्भेदः । यथा
ह्येकशाखागतमग्निहोत्रादिवाक्यं एकपुरुषं प्रति विहितमेवापरं प्रति
विधत्ते न तु कर्मान्तरं एवमिहापि अध्येतृभेदात् तान् प्रति सर्वाणि
वाक्यान्वेव कर्म विदधति । एवमसन्निधावपि विपरिवृत्त्यभावात्
कर्मविधानमात्रं सिद्ध्यति न तु भेदः । एवमेकादशद्वादशकपालयो-
रपि उत्पत्तिशिष्टत्वात् बलाबलं न च शाखादयमेकोऽधीते ।
स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्य इति विधिनाऽर्थबोधं प्रति स्वाध्यायस्योपादीय-
मानतया त × × तैकत्वस्य विवक्षितत्वात् । उक्तञ्च—

“स्वाध्यायग्रहणेनैका शाखा हि परिगृह्यते^१” ॥

१ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ६४९ । अस्य श्लोकस्य द्वितीयचरणस्तु एवं पठ्यते—“एकार्थानां
विकल्पस्य कर्मैकत्वे विवक्षिते ।”

ज्योतिष्टोमादिनामधेयस्य द्रव्यदेवताख्यस्य रूपस्य गुणस्य चा-
विशेषेण सर्वशाखासु कर्मण ऐक्यप्रत्यभिज्ञानाच्च ।

उक्तञ्च—

“ सर्वत्र प्रत्यभिज्ञानात् संज्ञारूपगुणादिभिः ।

एककर्मत्वविज्ञानं न शाखास्वरूपगच्छति^१ ” ॥

तदेवं शब्दान्तरादीनि षडपि कर्मभेदकानि सापवादानि
निरूपितानि । तत्र संज्ञाशब्दान्तरयोरपर्थ्याथशब्दत्वेनाविशेषेऽपि
शब्दान्तरस्य भावनानुरञ्जकसाध्यभूतधात्वर्थप्रतिपादकत्वेन धात्वर्था-
वच्छिन्नभावनाप्रतिपादकतया केवलधात्वर्थप्रतिपादकसंज्ञातो भेदे-
नाभिधानम् । संख्यागुणयोस्त्वयं भेदः । गुणस्य पूर्वकर्मण्यसम्भवा-
द्भेदकत्वम् । असम्भवस्तु उत्पत्तिशिष्टैर्न बलीयसाऽवरोधाद्वाक्य-
भेदप्रसङ्गित्वाद्वा । संख्यायास्तु भिन्नकर्मसु व्यासज्यसमवायेऽपि
भेदमन्तरेणानुपपत्तेर्भेदकतेति ।

उक्तञ्च—

“ स्वरूपानभिधानत्वात् संज्ञाशब्दान्तरात्पृथक् ।

व्यासज्यसमवायाच्च संख्या भिन्ना गुणान्तरात्^२ ” ॥

सोऽयं शब्दान्तरादिप्रमाणको भेदो व्यक्तेरेव । तथा हि—
विधिनाऽनुष्ठेयस्य भेदो लभ्यते । तादृशी च व्यक्तिरेवेति ।

आह च—

“ व्यक्तेर्यो हि विधीयन्ते सामान्येनोपलक्षिताः ।

तस्मात्तद्गतमेवेह भेदाभेदनिरूपणम्^३ ” ॥

१ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ६४१ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ६२६ ।

३ कारिकेयं तन्त्रवार्तिकशास्त्रदीपिकयोर्न दृश्यते ।

एवञ्च समिधो यजतीत्यादौ पञ्च व्यक्तयः । ताश्च देशकाल-
यजमानादिभेदेऽपि न भिद्यन्ते । द्रुतादिभेदादिव गकारः ।

आह च—

“पौर्णमासीसमिद्यागादमावास्या न भिद्यते ।

यजमानान्तरेष्वेवं देशभेदेषु च स्थितम्^१” ॥

न च व्यक्तीनां नित्यत्वेऽनुष्ठानवैयर्थ्यं अभिव्यक्ताभिरेव ताभिः
फलनिष्पत्तेः । अथ वा जातिभेद एव प्रतिपाद्यत इति ॥

इति श्रीमीमांसाशास्त्रसर्वस्वे द्वितीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

समाप्तश्च द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥

तृतीयाध्याये प्रथमः पादः ।



१ प्रतिज्ञाधिकरणम् ।

अथातः शेषलक्षणम् ॥ १ ॥

एवं सिद्धे कर्मभेदे को धर्मः किं लक्षण इति जिज्ञासाविषय-
निरूपणे पर्यवसिते कान्यस्य साधनानि कानि साधनाभावानीति
जिज्ञासाविषयमूलमङ्गत्वे श्रुत्यादिसहकृतविनियोगविधिप्रमाणकं
श्रुत्यादीनां च बाध्यबाधकभावप्रयोजकं बलाबलं निरूप्य इति
वक्ष्यमाणार्थप्रतिज्ञापकमिदं सूत्रम् ।

२ शेषलक्षणाधिकरणम् ।

शेषः परार्थत्वात् ॥ २ ॥

परार्थं शेषशब्दप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तमित्यर्थः । तथा च यः परार्थः
स शेष इति स्वरूपमप्यर्थादुक्तम् ।

यत्तु अविनाभावः शेषत्वमिति तन्न—यथा हि अङ्गत्वाभिमतानि
विना अङ्गत्वाभिमतस्याभावः । तोयादिभिर्विनेवाङ्कुरादि । एव-
मध्ययनाधानद्रव्यार्जनादिना विना क्लृप्त्वापत्तेः ।

यदपि प्रयोज्यत्वं शेषत्वमिति तदपि न । पुरोडाशकपालादे-
स्तुषोपवापाद्यङ्गत्वाभावप्रसङ्गात् ।

यदप्युपकारकत्वमङ्गत्वमिति तदपि न । प्रधानानामपि परस्पर-
ङ्गत्वापत्तेः । द्रव्यार्जनादीनां सर्वकर्माङ्गतापत्तेश्च । ततश्चार्थिमात्र-
विषयककामश्रुत्या परिग्रहात् वसन्तादिश्रवणानां निमित्तार्थता-
पत्तौ शूद्रादीनामधिकारप्रसङ्गः । पश्वङ्गभूतानां प्रयाजादीनां

पशुपुरोडाशाङ्गत्वप्रसङ्गाच्च । तस्मात्पारार्थ्यलक्षणमेव शेषत्वम् । तच्च सम्बन्धप्रयुक्तेच्छाविषयत्वम् । यत् सम्बन्धेन हि यत्रेच्छा तत्तस्याङ्गम् । तदुक्तम्—‘उद्देशेन हि तादर्थ्यं विविच्यत’ इति । अत एव शालि-कुल्यास्थमुदकं पिवन्नपि न कश्चिन्मदर्थमेताः प्रणीता इत्यध्ववस्यति^१ ।

कथं तर्हि श्रुत्यादिलक्षणं शेषत्वम् । न हि सोमेन यजेतेति तृतीयया परोद्देशप्रवृत्तत्वं सोमस्योच्यत इति चेत्—

न । श्रुत्यादीनां पारार्थ्यान्तन्निधायकत्वेऽपि विधिसहितानां तेषामर्थापत्त्या तदगमकत्वात् । चेतनप्रवर्तनात्मा हि विधिः । न चानुद्दिष्टफले व्यापारे चेतनः प्रवर्तयितुं शक्यत इति अर्थाद्विधि-विषयस्य व्यापारस्य फलोद्देशप्रवृत्ततावगम्यते । फलार्थस्य व्यापारोऽपि फलवदेवाभिलषित इति तत् साधनत्वेन श्रुत्यादिभिरवगतानां यागादीनां तत् साधनत्वेन च विहितानां सोमादीनां तदुद्देशप्रवृत्तिः सिध्यति । तस्माद्युक्तं श्रुत्यादिगम्यं पारार्थ्यलक्षणं शेषत्वमिति ॥

३ शेषलक्ष्याधिकारणम् ।

द्रव्यगुणसंस्कारेषु बादरिः ॥ ३ ॥

पूर्वोक्तशेषत्वस्यैवायं प्रपञ्चः । द्विधा हि तत् । नैयमिकमा-पेक्षिकत्वं च । तत्रायं यथा ब्रौह्मादीनामारुण्यादीनां संमार्गादीनां च शेषत्वम् ।

नन्वेवमपि स्वाङ्गानि प्रति प्रधानत्वात् यागं प्रति च गुणभावात् आपेक्षिकत्वमेव शेषत्वमिति चेत्—

न । यं प्रति शेषत्वं तं प्रति न शेषत्वमित्याशयात् । द्वितीयं तु यागादीनाम् । यागो हि निरवर्तकं पुरुषं प्रति प्रधानं फलं प्रति

च गुणः । अत एव फलस्वामिनं पुरुषं प्रति सुतरां गुणोऽपौत्यादि बोध्यम् । तदुक्तं सूत्रकृता—

कर्माण्यपि जैमिनिः फलार्थत्वात् ॥ ४ ॥

फलञ्च पुरुषार्थत्वात् ॥ ५ ॥

पुरुषश्च तदर्थत्वात् ॥ ६ ॥

इति । आचार्याश्चाहुः—

“द्रव्यादेर्यत्र शेषत्वं तत्र नैवास्ति शेषिता ।

फलयागनराणां तु ज्ञाकारत्वं परस्परम्^१” ॥

इदं च वस्तुवृत्तापेक्षमुच्यते । न तु व्यवहारार्थम् । अन्यथा अङ्गत्वांशेन विहृतौ फलपुरुषयोरप्यतिदेशे सिद्धान्तहानिः स्यादिति बोध्यम् ॥

४ निर्वापणादीनां व्यवस्थितविषयताधिकरणम् ।

तेषामर्थेन सम्बन्धः ॥ ७ ॥

कः शेषः केन हेतुना च इति द्वयमपि निरूपितम् । कथं विनियुज्यत इति निरूप्यते । दर्शपूर्णमासयोर्निर्वपणप्रोक्षणावघातादयश्चैषधधर्माः उत्पवनादयश्चाज्यधर्माः शाखाहरणादयः सान्नाय्यधर्माः श्रुताः ।

तेषु संग्रहः । किं सर्वे चैषधे आज्ये सान्नाये च कर्तव्या उत यथासम्भवं व्यवस्थेति । किं प्राप्तम्—

“एकमेव फला पूर्वं फलस्यैकस्य सिद्धये ।

कल्थं नान्यानि धर्माणां तादर्थ्यात्सङ्गरो भवेत्^२” ॥

१ तन्त्रवार्तिकोद्धृतेयं कारिका, पृ० ६७५ ।

२ शास्त्रदौषिकाकारैरपि धृतेयं कारिका, पृ० १८८ ।

अवघातादयो ब्रौह्मादिभिरपूर्वसाधनतांशेन संबध्यते । स्व-
रूपार्थत्वमानर्थक्यात् । तच्चापूर्वं सर्वेषामाग्नेयादीनामेकफलसाधन-
त्वादेकमेव कल्प्यते न तु बह्वनि । तदर्थश्चावघातस्तदीये हविषि
कर्तव्यः । तदीयत्वं चाज्यादीनामप्यवशिष्टम् । अतो यथा ब्रौहिषु
श्रुतोऽवघातो यथेष्टपि भवति, एवमाज्यादिष्वप्येति युक्तम् । सन्तु
वावान्तरापूर्वाणि तथापि तानि निष्फलत्वाद्यागस्वरूपवदेव न
धर्माणां प्रयोजकानि परमापूर्वमेव तु फलवत्वात्प्रयोजकम् । भवन्तु
वाऽवान्तरापूर्वाण्येव प्रयोजकानि तथापि प्रकरणाविशेषात् सर्वाणि
सर्वेषां प्रयोजकानि । तस्मात् सङ्कर इत्येवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

सन्ति तावदवान्तरापूर्वाणि तैर्विना आशुतरविनाशिना-
माग्नेयादीनां संहृत्य परमापूर्वजनकत्वायोगादित्युक्तमपूर्वाधिकरणे ।
तादर्थ्यमेव चावघातादेर्युक्तम् । प्रत्यासत्तेः । ब्रौहिशब्दो हि
यागद्वारेणापूर्वमुपस्थापयन् प्रथमं तत्रैव निपतति । तस्य चाज्ञात-
प्रकारत्वात् परमापूर्वसाधकत्वेन च फलवत्त्वान्तदतिक्रमो न न्याय्यः ।
सत्यपि च सर्वेषां प्रकरणाविशेषे श्रुतेर्बलीयस्त्वावगमादसंकरः । एवं
चावघातादेर्दृष्टार्थता भवति । तस्माद्यथासंयोगं व्यवस्था ॥

५ स्फ्यादीनां संयोगानुसारेण व्यवस्थितत्वाधि-
करणम् ।

द्रव्यं चोत्पत्तिसंयोगात्तदर्थमेव चोद्येत ॥ ११ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोः ‘स्फ्यश्च कपालानि चे’त्युपक्रम्य ‘एतानि वै दश
यज्ञायुधानी’ति श्रुतम् । तथा ‘स्फ्येनोद्धन्ती’त्यादीनि ।

तत्र किं स्फ्यादिना येन यत्कर्तुं शक्यं तत्सर्वं कार्यमुत यथा-
संयोगमुद्धननाद्येवेति संशयः ।

तत्रायुधशब्दस्य साधनवचनत्वात् यज्ञसाधनत्वं गम्यमानं साक्षा-
दसम्भवदंगेष्ववतरदविशेषात्सर्वाङ्गेषु ज्ञायते । उद्धननादिसंयोग-
स्त्वेनेनैव प्राप्तत्वादवयुत्यानुवाद इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

एवं सति बह्वनामुद्धननादिवाक्यानामानर्थक्यं स्यात् उद्धनने
स्फ्यादन्येषामपि पक्षे प्राप्तौ नित्यवच्छ्रवणविरोधश्च । तस्मादेतानि
वाक्यानि विधायकानि । यज्ञायुधवाक्यं त्वेतिरेव प्राप्तार्थत्वात्
वैशब्दोपबन्धात् । आख्याताभावाच्चानुवादकम् । न चास्यानर्थक्यम् ।
यज्ञायुधानि सम्भवन्तीत्यनन्तरश्रुतासादनविधिगेष्वत्वात् ।

तस्मादस्यानुवादत्वादितरे विधयो मताः ।

तेन स्फ्यादेर्व्यवस्था स्यात्कार्येषूद्धननादिषु ॥

ई आरुण्यादिगुणानामसंकौर्णताधिकरणम् ।

अर्थैकत्वे द्रव्यगुणयोरैककर्म्यान्नियमः स्यात् ॥ १२ ॥

ज्योतिष्टोमे श्रूयते ‘‘अरुण्या पिङ्गाद्या एकहायन्या सोमं
क्रीणाती’’ति । तत्रारुणशब्दोऽयमाकृत्यधिकरणन्यायेन गुणवचनः ।
न तु गुणगतजातिवचनः । शुक्लादिव्यक्तीनामेकैकत्वात् ।

आह च—

‘‘एतैव दिशा वाच्या शुक्लादेरपि नित्यते’’ति । पक्षान्तरे तु
तद्गतजातिवचनः । उभयथापि द्रव्ये लाक्षणिकः । न च मतुपा-
द्यौगिक इति वाच्यम् । लोपाद्वाख्यानद्वारा निरुद्धलक्षणया एवो-
पपादितत्वात् । सा चार्थशक्तिः यद्यपि शक्त्यन्तरकल्पनागौरवं तुल्यं
तथापि अभिधेयमात्रप्रत्ययनेन शब्दस्य निवृत्तव्यापारत्वात् अर्थ-
प्रत्ययस्य चाकृतार्थत्वादर्थशक्तिरेव प्रमाणवती न शब्दशक्तिः । ‘‘या
त्वादिमती लक्षणा नासौ शास्त्रेण गम्यते । यथा खिग्धो रस
इत्यादौ रसशब्दस्य द्रव्यलक्षणा ।

आह च—

निरूढा लक्षणाः काश्चित्सामर्थ्यादभिधानवत् ।

क्रियन्ते साम्प्रतं काश्चित् काश्चिन्नैव त्वशक्तिः^१ ॥

“पिङ्गाद्व्यैकहायनीशब्दौ यौगिकौ । सामानाधिकरण्यादेक-
द्रव्यवचनौ । गुणाधिक्यफलं च शब्दद्वयम् । न चैकेन विहितेऽपरेण
विधिर्न सम्भवतीति वाच्यम् । उभयोरपि श्रुत्यैव द्रव्यवाचकयो-
र्युगपत्प्रवृत्तेः^२ ॥

नन्वनयोरपि गुणवचनत्वमेव । मत्वर्थेव ब्रौह्मविधानात् मतुपश्च
सम्बन्धवाचकत्वादिति चेत्—न । मतुपः प्रकृत्यर्थाविशिष्टद्रव्यवाचक-
त्वात् । सम्बन्धस्य च तदनन्तरं अर्थात् प्रतीतेः । न च व्यक्तीनामानन्त्य-
व्यभिचाराभ्यां अनभिधेयत्वमिति वाच्यम् । एकोपलक्षणेन शक्ति-
ग्रहसंभवात् । यद्यपि उपलक्षणीभूता दण्डाद्व्यक्तयो नाना तथापि
जात्या तदनुगमः । न जातिरपि दण्डत्वदण्डवत्त्वादिरननुगतेति
वाच्यम् । प्रकृत्यर्थत्वेन तदनुगमात् ।

आह च—

“सर्वत्र यौगिकैः शब्दैर्द्रव्यमेवाभिधीयते ।

न हि सम्बन्धवाच्यत्वं सम्भवत्यतिगौरवात् ॥

प्राक् प्रतीतैकसम्बन्धिविशिष्टेऽभिहिते परे ।

सम्बन्धिन्येव सम्बन्धः प्रतीत इति नोच्यते ॥

आनन्त्येऽपि हि भावानामेकं कृत्वोपलक्षणम् ।

शब्दः सुकरसम्बन्धो न च व्यभिचरिष्यति^३ ॥

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ७०० ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १९० ।

३ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ६८८, ६९१, ६९३ ।

न चैवं दण्डित्वमितिवप्रत्ययेन सम्बन्धो नाभिधीयत इति वाच्यम् । भावप्रत्ययस्य समवेतगुणग्राहित्वनियमेनार्थप्राप्तसम्बन्धस्यैवाच्यत्वात् । न चैवमपि वज्रव्रीहावन्यपदार्थो लक्ष्य एवास्त्विति वाच्यम् । अनेकमन्यपदार्थ इति स्मरणादवश्यं प्रतीतेस्तु वाच्यत्वाभ्युपगमात् ।

“तदिहारुणिमानं प्रति सन्देहः । किमेनं वाक्यात् भित्वा प्रकरणेन सर्वद्रव्येषु विनिवेशयामः किं वा क्रीणातिना सम्बध्य तदङ्गीभूतं एकहायन्यामेवेति ।

तत्र—

अमूर्तत्वादगुणो नैव क्रियां साधयितुं क्षमः ।

तस्मात्क्रीणातिना नास्य सम्भवत्येकवाक्यता^१ ” ॥

तस्मादाक्यं भित्वा प्रकरणे निवेशनीयः । तथा हि—“प्रातिपदिकं गुणवचनमपि लक्षणया द्रष्टव्यम् । द्रव्यञ्च तृतीयासंयोगात्करणम् । एवं च गुणविशिष्टद्रव्ये करणतया प्रतीतविशेष्याणि करणद्रव्याणि प्रकरणगतान्यनूद्य विशेषणभूतो गुणः परिच्छेदकत्वेन विधीयते । येन द्रव्येण किञ्चित् क्रियते तेनारूपगुणकेनेति ।

नन्वेवं लक्षितस्य द्रव्यस्य क्रयकरणत्वमेवास्तु किं वाक्यभेदेनेति वाच्यम् । औत्तैकहायन्यवरुद्धे तस्मिन् लक्षितद्रव्यान्तरविधानायोगात् । न चैकहायनीमेवानूद्य गुणो विधीयतामिति वाच्यम् । कथं प्रति गुणीभूताया विधीयमानायास्तस्य गुणं प्रति प्रधानीभवनायोगात् । प्राकरणिकद्रव्याणि तु वाक्यान्तरविहितानि शक्यन्तेऽनुवदितुम्^२ ” ।

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १८०-१८१ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १८१-१८२ ।

“अतश्च पदमेवैतद्वाक्येनैवं विभज्यते ।

या व्यक्तिः करणत्वेन चोदिता पूर्वसाधनम् ॥

तथा तत्साधयेन्नित्यमरूपत्वविशिष्टया ।

एवं चेदरूपं कार्यं करणं यद्ग्रहाद्यपि^१ ॥

एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“तृतीयया गुणस्यैव करणत्वं क्रयं प्रति ।

विस्पष्टं गम्यते तच्च द्रव्यद्वारेण युज्यते^२ ॥

अर्थाद्वाक्यस्य नैकदेशत्वादिति न्यायेन यथाशक्त्यादित्युपबन्धे सति द्रव्यपरिच्छेदमुखेन गुणस्य करणत्वमवधार्यते । न ह्येकरूपैव सर्वेषां साधनता । एवं च “अतस्तस्यैव गुणस्य क्रयैकवाक्यत्वेन लक्षणा- वाक्यभेदश्च न युज्यते । यदा च क्रयार्थत्वं तदा तदीयद्रव्ये निविशादेकहायन्यामेवास्य निवेशः^३ ॥” । न च वासःप्रभृतिष्वपि निवेशापत्तिः तेषां क्रयान्तरद्रव्यत्वात् । प्रतिवाक्यं हि भिन्नाः क्रयाः । उत्पत्तिशिष्टद्रव्यान्तरावरुद्धे द्रव्यान्तरनिवेशायोगात् । न चैवं “क्रयणेषु तु विकल्पः स्या”दित्यधिकरणे द्रव्याणां विकल्पसमुच्चय- चिन्ता कथमिति वाच्यम् । तत्र क्रयाणामेव विकल्पादिचिन्तनात् तथा चैकक्रियावशीकृतयोर्द्रव्यगुणयोः परस्परारवच्छेदकत्वसिद्धिः । गुणो हि अन्यथानुपपत्त्या अश्रुतं यद्द्रव्यमाक्षिपति तत् श्रुतैकहायनीकः क्रयो न गृह्णाति । तथा एकहायन्यपि यं गुणमश्रुतमानयति तं श्रुतारुणिमगुणकः क्रयो न गृह्णाति । एवं च श्रुतयोरेव परस्पर- सम्बन्धेन परिपूर्णत्वात् नाश्रुतकल्पनावकाशः । एवं च वाक्यगतमपि सामानाधिकरण्यं समर्थितम्^४ ।

१ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ६९६ ।

२-३ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १८९ ।

४ अत्र तन्त्रवार्तिकानुरूपः पङ्क्तयः, पृ० ७०६-७१० ।

यस्य प्रकरणे निवेशं मन्यते तस्य गुणविधायकमेव दुर्लभम् ।
अरूणापदस्य विधिशक्तिविरहात् । प्रयोगविधेश्च क्रियामात्र-
ग्राहकत्वात् । तस्मादेकवाक्यतानियमश्चेति सिद्धम् ॥

७ ग्रहसम्भारजनाधिकारणम् ।

एकत्वयुक्तमेकस्य श्रुतिसंयोगात् ॥ १३ ॥

ज्योतिष्टोमे श्रुतं 'ग्रहं समार्ष्टी'ति ।

तत्र किं ग्रहैकत्वं विवक्षितमुत नेति संशयः ।

यद्यप्यपौरुषेयवेदे वक्त्रीच्छारूपा विवक्षा न सम्भवत्येव तथापि
न्यायगम्यो विधिशक्त्यधीनः परिग्रहात् न विवक्षा ।

यद्वा—

“न्यायेन संप्रदायाद्वा ये मीमांसकयाज्ञिकाः ।

वेदं व्याचक्षते तेषामभिप्रायोऽयमुच्यते^१ ॥

तत्र श्रुतिबलाद्यद्वत् संख्योपादेयगामिनौ ।

विवक्षिता तयोद्देश्यगता श्रुत्यविशेषतः^२ ॥”

एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“जातेरमूर्तत्वादिह ज्योतिष्टोमापूर्वसाधनानि द्रव्याणि तथा
लक्ष्यन्ते । तानि च संमार्गं प्रति यदि गुणभूतानि स्युर्यागं प्रति
पशुरिव ततो येन केनापि सिद्धेर्न सर्वत्र संमार्गः क्रियते । न हि
यावद्गुणं प्रधानावृत्तिः । ततश्च कियता द्रव्येण संमार्गः कर्तव्य
इत्यपेक्षायां परिच्छेदकत्वेन संख्या विधीयते पञ्चेकत्ववत् । इह तु
संमार्गं प्रति द्रव्याणि प्रधानानि द्वितीयानिर्देशात् प्रयोजन-

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ७१७-७१८ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १८३ ।

वत्त्वाच्च । प्रतिप्रधानं च गुणावृत्तिरिति निश्चयान्न परिच्छेदाकाङ्क्षा ।
 अतः श्रुतापि संख्यानादर्थव्या । परिच्छेदकतया हि तस्याः
 क्रियान्वयः । न च परिच्छेदोऽपरिच्छिन्ने भवतीति दाराभावान्न
 क्रियान्वयः संख्यायाः । न च सर्वद्रव्यसंमार्गं प्राप्ते एकवचनश्रुतिः
 परिसंख्यार्थेति वाच्यम् । तस्यास्त्रिदोषत्वात् । न चैवं परिसंख्यो-
 च्छेदः^१ ” यत्र सामान्यप्रापणमानुमानिकवाक्यलभ्यं विशेषे च
 प्रत्यक्षवाक्यात्प्राप्तिर्यथा मामगृह्णन्वशनामृतस्येत्यश्वाभिधानीमादत्त
 इत्यत्र तत्र फलतः परिसंख्येति व्यवहारात् वस्तुतस्तु सर्वस्याप्यपूर्व-
 विधित्वात् । न च तत्र त्रिदोषता । प्रत्यक्षश्रुत्या शीघ्रप्रदा(वृ?)त्तया
 अश्वाभिधान्यां विनियुक्तस्य मन्त्रस्य निराकांचलेन लैङ्गिकश्रुति-
 कल्पनाया एव तत्र निरोधात् ।

आह च—

“सामान्यप्रापणाशङ्का वाक्याद्यत्रानुमानिकात् ।

श्रुतात्प्राप्तिर्विशेषे च परिसंख्या तदाश्रया^२ ॥

अप्राप्तविधिरेवायमतो मन्त्रस्य निश्चितः ।

परिसंख्याफलेनोक्ता न विशेषपुनःश्रुतेः^३ ” ॥

किंच—

“ग्रहस्य संमृजेर्वैतत्प्रधानं गुण एव वा ।

सर्वथा वाक्यभेदः स्यादतो नास्य विधेयता^४ ” ॥

ग्रहोद्देशेन हि संमार्गस्य एकत्वस्य विधानेऽर्थद्वयविधानाद्वाक्य-
 भेदः । एकत्वस्य च ग्रहस्वरूपमात्रोपपत्त्यात् संमार्गाविशेषकतया

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १८३-१८४ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ७२७ ।

३ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ७२८ ।

४ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १८४ ।

सर्वसंमार्गप्रसङ्गः । न च संमार्गान्विते ग्रहे एकत्वविधिः । संमार्गस्य विधेयतया उद्देश्यपरिशेषणत्वायोगात् । अथैकत्वविशिष्टग्रहानुवादेन संमार्गविधिस्तर्हि सर्वेषां प्रत्येकमेकत्वात् स्यादेव प्रसङ्गः । न चैकत्वविशिष्टसंमार्गविधिः । तथाप्येकत्वस्य द्वितीयाश्रुत्या प्राधान्यावगमात् प्रतिप्रधानं संमार्गा...त्यापत्तिः (?) । न च सक्तुवत् लक्षणया गुणत्वम् । मुख्यार्थसम्भवे तदयोगात् । तथा सति ग्रहस्यापि गुणत्वापत्तेश्च । न हि सदुपत्ता(सद्वदुपत्ता?) द्वितीया- (विभक्तिः?)ग्रहस्य प्राधान्यं श्रुत्या वक्तुमेकत्वस्य च गुणत्वं लक्षयितुं क्षमते । पशौ तु द्रव्यस्य निष्प्रयोजनत्वात् सक्तुवदगुणाभावे कल्पिते जातिद्रव्यसंख्यालिङ्गानां उपादेयत्वादवैरूप्याद्विशिष्टैकभावनाविधिरिति वैषम्यम्^१ । अत्रानुवाद्यविशेषणमविवक्षितं विधेयविशेषणं तु विवक्षितम् । न त्वद्देश्यलोपादेयत्वयोरादरः । तेन ब्राह्मणः सुरां पिवेदित्यादौ उपादेयस्यापि ब्राह्मणस्यानुवाद्यतया लिङ्गाविवक्षा^२ ।

“नोपादेयत्वमेवैकं कारणत्वेन सम्मतम् ।

विशेषणविवक्षायाः कारणं हि महद्विधिः^३” ॥

८ चमसादौ संमार्गाद्यप्रयोगाधिकरणम् ।

संस्काराद्वा गुणानामव्यवस्था स्यात् ॥ १६ ॥

एकत्ववत् ग्रहत्वमर्थविवक्षितमुताविवक्षितमिति विचारः । “तत्र संमार्गीत्युक्ते सोमावसेकनिर्हरणप्रयोजनतया सोमपात्राणामित्यवगमाद्भूयः कस्येत्यपेक्षाविरहादविवक्षितं महत्त्वम् ।

१ अत्र तन्त्रवार्तिकानुरूपाः पङ्क्तयो द्रष्टव्याः, पृ० ७४४ ।

२ अत्रापि तन्त्रवार्तिकानुरूपाः पङ्क्तयो द्रष्टव्याः, पृ० १४१ ।

३ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० १४१ ।

किं च—

सोमयागस्यैकत्वान्तत्पूर्वमपि एकमेव । तस्माधननिवेशी च
संमार्गश्चमसेष्वपि भवितुमर्हति । अवघातादीनां त्वपूर्वभेदाद्भवत्येति
वैषम्यमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

न हि ग्रहविवक्षायां वाक्यभेदः प्रसज्यते ।

यागैकत्वेऽप्यपूर्वाणि भिद्यन्तेऽभ्यासभेदतः ॥

अवश्यं हि सम्मार्गः कस्य चिद्विधातव्यः । तत्र शब्दोपनीतं
ग्रहसुलङ्घ्यं सामर्थ्यलभ्यं सोमपात्रमात्रग्रहणं न युक्तम् ।
एकस्यापि च यागस्य प्रत्यभ्यासमपूर्वं भिद्यते । अन्यथाभ्यासानां
संहत्यकारित्वायोगात् । ततश्च ग्रहशब्दलक्षितपूर्वविशेषनिबन्धनः
संमार्गो न चमसेषु कर्तव्यः^१ ॥

६ सप्तदशारन्वितायाः पशुधर्मताधिकरणम् ।

आनर्थक्यात्तदंगेषु ॥ १८ ॥

‘सप्तदशारन्निर्वाजपेयस्य यूप’ इति श्रूयते ।

तत्र किं सप्तदशारन्निर्वाजपेयसाधनभूतोर्ध्वपात्रद्वारेण वाज-
पेयाङ्गसुत यूपद्वारेण पशुङ्गमिति संशयः ।

तत्र वाजपेयस्येति षष्ठ्या तत्सम्बन्धूर्ध्वपात्रमुद्दिश्य विधीयमानं
सप्तदशारन्निर्वाजपेयसाधनं तद्वारेण वाजपेयाङ्गम् । यूपशब्दस्य ऊर्ध्वत्व-
खादिरत्वादिगुणयोगात् षोडशपात्रस्यैवानुवादः । स च जघन्यत्वान्न
दोषः । न च वाजपेयस्य यो यूप इति सम्बन्धः । यूपस्य
पशुसम्बन्धित्वात् वाजपेयस्य शब्दस्य स्वाङ्गपशुलक्षकत्वापत्तेः । न
च मुख्यस्य लक्षणा युक्ता । तस्मादूर्ध्वपात्रे निवेश इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“स्यादेवं यदि यूपेन सम्बन्धे लक्षणा भवेत् ।
 वाजपेयश्रुतेर्नासौ श्रुतिवृत्त्यैव सा यतः ॥
 षष्ठी सम्बन्धमात्रार्था नाङ्गाङ्गित्वमपेक्षते ।
 नाप्यव्यवधिसम्बन्धं देवदत्तस्य नप्तृवत् ॥
 यूपस्य च पशुद्वारा वाजपेयोपकारतः ।
 सम्बन्धमात्रमस्यैव क्रतुनातो न लक्षणा ॥
 १भवतस्तु भवेदेव यूपशब्दस्य लक्षणा ।
 तेन सप्तदशारत्निर्यूप इत्येव सङ्गतिः २ ” ॥

१० अभिक्रमणादीनां प्रयाजमात्राङ्गताधिकरणम् ॥

कर्तृगुणे तु कर्मासमवायाद्वाक्यभेदः स्यात् ॥ १६ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोः प्रयाजसमीपे श्रूयते—‘अभिक्रमं जुहोती’ति
 “होमानुवादेन विधीयमानमभिक्रमणं किं प्राकरणिकसर्वहोमाङ्गं
 उत प्रयाजहोमस्यैवेति संशयः । तदर्थमवान्तरप्रकरणमस्ति न वेति
 चिन्थते । तत्र—

फलवद्भावान्नोद्भूतकथंभावतिरोहिताः ।

नैवाङ्गानां कथंभावाः प्रादुष्यन्ति तमन्तरा ॥

प्रादुष्युर्यदि चाङ्गानां कथंभावास्ततो मिथः ।

तेषामङ्गाङ्गितापत्तेरव्यवस्था प्रसज्यते ॥

१ अत्र शास्त्रदीपिकायां निम्नलिखिता अपि कारिकाः पश्यन्ते—

“जघर्षपात्रेण सम्बन्धे यूपशब्दस्य गौणता ।

अनन्तरेण सम्बन्धः प्रधानेन च सङ्गतिः ॥

प्रक्रियानुग्रहस्यैवं नाहत्यः श्रुतिबाधतः ।

तेन सप्तदशारत्निर्यूप इत्येव सङ्गतिः ” ॥

‘भवतस्त्वित्यादि पङ्क्तिस्तु कापि न दृश्यते ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १८६-१८७ ।

तस्मान्नावान्तरप्रकरणम्^१ ” । न च तदभावेऽपि सन्निधि-
मात्रेणाभिक्रमणस्य प्रयाजाङ्गतास्त्विति वाच्यम् । बलीयसा प्रकरणेन
दर्शपूर्णमासभावनया सम्बन्धात् । तस्मात्तदीयसकलहोमाङ्गमभि-
क्रमणमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“ भवेदेवं प्रयाजानां नास्ति प्रकरणं यदि ।

तेषां वचनसंयुक्ता ये गुणा विहिताः पुरा ॥

पश्चाच्च ये विधास्यन्ते तैः सन्दृष्टमिदं श्रुतम् ।

अभिक्रामं जुहोतीति न ततोऽन्यत्र गच्छति ॥

प्रयाजान् विधाय समानयत उपमृत इत्यादिगुणान्विधाय
अभिक्रामं जुहोतीत्युक्ता ‘यो वै प्रयाजानां मियुनमि’त्यादौ
प्रयाजानिष्ठा हवींश्चभिधारयतीति यावत्प्रयाजपरामर्शदर्शनान्त-
न्मध्यपतितमभिनिष्क्रमणं तदङ्गमेव । अस्ति ह्यङ्गभावनानामप्य-
विज्ञातप्रकारत्वात् कथमित्याकाङ्क्षा ।

तथापि—

न विद्यते तु संदंशो यत्र वाचनिकैर्गुणैः ।

तत्राङ्गानां कथंभावः सन्नप्यविनियोजकः ॥

निष्फलत्वेन सर्वेषां न विशेषोऽवगम्यते ।

कः शेषः कस्य शेषित्वमतः सर्वं प्रधानगम् ॥

अव्यवस्थाप्रसक्तिश्च योक्ता सैवं निराकृता ।

सन्दंशे सति संदंष्टं तदङ्गमितरत्पुनः ॥

सर्वं प्रधानगामीति नाव्यवस्था प्रसज्यते^२ ” ।

एकदेशिनां तु अवान्तरप्रकरणानभ्युपगमात् सर्वार्थमभिक्रमणं
स्यादिति दूषणं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

^१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १९८ ।

^२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १९८-१९९ ।

११ उपवीतस्य प्राकरणिकाङ्गताधिकरणम् ।

सन्दिग्धे तु व्यवायाद्वाक्यभेदः स्यात् ॥ २१ ॥

“दर्शपूर्णमासयोः सामिधेनीर्विधाय त्रिःप्रथमामन्वाहेत्यादिभि-
र्वचनैस्तासां गुणान् विधाय निविदो नाम मन्त्रा देवेद्धो मन्विद्ध
इत्यादयो विहिताः । ततः काम्याः सामिधेनीकल्पा विहिताः ।
तदनन्तरं यज्ञोपवीतमाह्नातं ‘उपव्ययते देवलक्ष्मेव तत्कुरुत’
इति । ततः पुनरपि सामिधेनीनामेव वाचनिका गुणा विधास्यन्ते
अन्तरानूच्यं सदेवत्वायेति ।

तदत्रोपवीतं प्रति संशयः—सामिधेन्यङ्गमुत दर्शपूर्णमासाङ्गमिति ।
तदर्थं च किं सामिधेनीनामवान्तरप्रकरणं निविद्धिर्विच्छिन्न-
मुतोपवीतविधावनुवर्तत इति ।

अनुवृत्तौ तदङ्गत्वं विच्छिन्ने दर्शशेषता ।

किं प्राप्तमुभयत्रापि कीर्तनादनुवर्तते ॥

पुरस्तादुपवीतस्य परस्ताच्चापि कीर्तनम् ।

विद्यते सामिधेनीनामतः प्रकरणास्तिता ॥

निविदामपि तादर्थ्यं तत्कथंभावसङ्गतेः ।

न चाङ्गैर्यवधौयन्ते प्रधानानि कथंचन ॥

काम्येष्वप्याश्रयत्वेन तासामप्यनुवर्तनम् ।

उपवीतमतस्तासामङ्गं प्रकरणाद्भवेत् ॥

एवं प्राप्ते वदामोऽत्र निविद्धिर्यवधानतः ।

विच्छिन्ना सामिधेनीनां प्रक्रिया नानुवर्तते ॥

यत्तु निविदोऽप्यवान्तरप्रकरणेन सामिधेन्यङ्गत्वादव्यवधायका
इति तन्न । लिंगेन प्रकरणं बाधित्वा निविदामग्निसमिन्धनाङ्ग-
त्वात् । तेनासम्बन्धिभिर्निवित्पदैर्दर्शपूर्णमासाङ्गैर्विच्छिन्नं सामिधेनीनां
प्रकरणं नोपवीतं गृह्णाति ।

नन्वेवं निविदामेवाङ्गं तत् । तासां प्रकरणाभावात् । तस्मा-
त्प्रकरणाद्दर्शपूर्णमासाङ्गमेवोपवीतमिति^१” सिद्धम् ॥

१२ गुणानां मिथोऽसम्बन्धाधिकरणम् ।

गुणानां च परार्थत्वात् असम्बन्धः समत्वात्स्यात् ॥२२॥

“आधानप्रकरणे वारणवैकंत्यानि पात्राणि श्रूयन्ते—वारणो
यज्ञावचरो वैकंतो यज्ञावचर इति पवमानेष्टयोऽप्याधानप्रकरणे
एव प्रदेशान्तरे श्रुताः ।

तत्र पात्रेषु सन्देहः किं पवमानेष्ट्यङ्गमुत यज्ञमात्राङ्गमिति ।
तदर्थं च किं पवमानहवींश्चाधानाङ्गमुत तान्यप्याधानेन सम-
प्रधानान्यग्यर्थानीति^२” ।

किं प्राप्तं “आधानस्य द्वितीयासंयुक्ताग्निसंस्कारार्थतया फल-
वत्त्वादफलानि पवमानहवींषि प्रकरणात्तदङ्गम्^३” । तथा च
यज्ञसम्बन्धात् साक्षादाधानेऽसंभवन्त्यपि पात्राणि आनर्थक्यात्तदङ्ग-
न्यायेन पवमानहविःषु^४ निविशन्त इति ।

अत्रोच्यते—

“यदाहवनीये जुहोतीति वाक्यादिषामग्न्यर्थता । नन्वनारभ्य-
वादोऽयं सर्वहोमांगमाहवनीयं विधत्ते न त्वाहवनीयाङ्गत्वं पवमान-
हविषामिति चेत्—

अनारभ्यविधानेन सत्यं नाग्न्यर्थता भवेत् ।

तत्तुल्यं वाक्यमस्यन्यत्पवमानेष्टिसंनिधौ ॥

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २००-२०१ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २०३ ।

३ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २०३ ।

४ ‘पवमानेष्टिष्वि’ति शास्त्रदीपिकाभिमतः पाठः, पृ० २०३ ।

तेन चाग्न्यर्थतया पवमानहवौषि विधीयन्ते । सप्तमी च साध्यत्वं लक्षयति । तप्ते पयसि दधानयतौतिवत् । तस्माद्वाक्ये-
नाधानवत् पवमानहविषामग्न्यर्थत्वान्नाधानाङ्गत्वम् । अतः सर्व-
यज्ञार्थानि पात्राणीति^१” भाष्यकाराः ।

आचार्यास्तु “किमनेनाश्रुतवाक्यकल्पनाक्लेशेन अन्यथायेतदुप-
पद्यत एव । भवन्तु नाम पवमानहवौष्याधानाङ्गं तथापि न तत्र
पात्राणि भवन्ति । वाजपेयस्य यूप इति हि यूपग्रहणात् व्यवहित-
सम्बन्धेऽपि च षष्ठ्युपपत्तेस्तथा कल्पितम् । न त्विहैवं किञ्चिदस्ति ।

यत्तु यज्ञावचरग्रहणं तत्प्रकृतयज्ञाभावात् अनारभ्यवादरूपेण
सर्वत्र विदधाति । तच्चैतत्पूषाद्यनुमन्त्रणन्यायेनैव सेव्यतीति नार्योधि-
करणेन । सूत्रं तु पूर्वस्यैव ।

ननु निविदां सामिधेन्यंगत्वान्न व्यवधायकत्वमत आह—‘गुणानां
च परार्थत्वा’दिति^२” निगदव्याख्यातम् ॥

१३ वार्चघ्नधिकरणम् ।

मिथश्चानर्थसम्बन्धात् ॥ २३ ॥

“दर्शपूर्णमासयोरग्नेयः सौम्यश्चाज्यभागौ विहितौ । तयोः
क्रमेणानुवाक्याचतुष्टयमान्नातं अग्नेयीसौमीत्येकं युगलं पुनराग्नेयी-
सौमी चेत्यपरम् । तत्र प्रथमद्वितीये वार्चघ्नौ तृतीयाचतुर्थौ च
वृधन्वत्यौ । तत्रापरं वचनं वार्चघ्नौ पौर्णमास्यामनूच्येते वृधन्वती
अभावाख्यायामिति ।

तत्र संशयः किमाज्यभागयोः क्रमप्राप्ता मंत्रास्ताभ्यामाच्छिद्य
वचनेन प्रधानाङ्गतया विधीयन्ते उताज्यभागयोरेवाव्यवस्थया

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २०३, २०५ ।

२ तन्त्रवाचिक, पृ० ७५५ ।

प्राप्तयोर्युगलयोर्यवस्थामात्रमिति । तदर्थं चास्मिन्वचने पौर्णमास्य-
मावास्याशब्दौ कर्मवचनावृत कालवचनाविति । तत्र—

कालस्यास्मरणीयत्वान्न मन्त्रेण प्रयोजनम् ।

नापि प्रकरणन्तस्य तेन नासाविहोच्यते ॥

कर्मणः प्रकृतत्वेन मन्त्रापेक्षतयापि च ।

तत्पौर्णमास्यमावास्याशब्दाभ्यामभिधीयते ॥

सप्तमी च पूर्वद्युरमावास्यायां वेदिमितिवत् प्रधानेऽप्यविरुद्धा ।
तस्माद्वाक्येन क्रमं बाधित्वा प्रधानार्था मन्त्रा इति ।

नैवं, यद्यपि कर्मैव शब्दाभ्यां प्रतिपाद्यते तथापि सप्तमीश्रुत्या
न प्रधानवत्त्वसम्भवः । पूर्वद्युरमावास्यायामिति तु लक्षणा । न चेह
तथा । मुख्यार्थसम्भवात् ।

किञ्च नेह सौम्यस्य मन्त्रस्य प्रधानेषु सामर्थ्यमस्ति । सोमस्य
प्रधानदेवतात्वाभावात् । अग्नीषोमीयेऽप्यग्निसहितस्य देवतात्वं न
तु निरपेक्षस्य अमावास्यायां तु नास्त्येव सोमः । तस्माद्भवस्थामात्र-
मपेक्षितमल्पत्वं च विधीयते । पौर्णमासीगतयोराज्यभागयोर्वार्चश्चौ
अमावास्यागतयोर्वृधन्वत्याविति^१ ॥

१४ हस्तावनेजनादीनां द्वात्रिंशत्प्राकरणिकाङ्गताधि-
करणम् ।

आनन्तर्यमचोदना ॥ २४ ॥

“दर्शपूर्णमासयोरान्वायते ‘हस्तावने निक्ते उलपराजिं स्तृणा-
तौ’ति । तथा ज्योतिष्टोमे ‘मुष्टीकरोति वाचं यच्छति दीक्षित-
मावेदयतौ’ति ।

तत्र हस्तावनेजनं हस्तसंस्कारार्थम् । मुष्टीकरणवाग्यमने च मनःप्रणिधानार्थं । तेन तत् त्रयमपि लिङ्गात्कारिष्यमाणकर्माङ्गं सत् किमनन्तरयोरुल्लपराजिस्तरणदीक्षितावेदनयोरङ्गमुत सर्वाङ्गमिति संशयः ।

तत्रानन्तर्यादेकवाक्यत्वादवान्तरप्रकरणाद्वा तन्मात्राङ्गत्वे प्राप्तेऽभिधीयते—

लिङ्गप्रकरणाभ्यां हि सर्वार्थत्वं प्रतीयते ।

क्रमश्च दुर्लभस्ताभ्यामतः सर्वार्थता भवेत् ॥

न चाख्यातद्वयस्य यच्छब्दाद्युपबन्धं विना एकवाक्यत्वं सम्भवति येन वाक्येनैव तादर्थ्यं स्यात्, न च श्रुत्यादिविहिताङ्गसंदंशोऽस्ति येनावान्तरप्रकरणं स्यात् । तस्मात्सर्वार्थतैव^१ ॥

१५ चतुर्धाकरणादीनामाग्नेयमात्राङ्गताधिकरणम् ।

शेषस्तु गुणसंयुक्तः साधारणः प्रतीयेत मिथ-
स्तेषामसम्बन्धात् ॥ २६ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोरग्नेयाम्नीषोमीयैन्द्राग्नाः पुरोडाशाः ।

तत्राग्नेयं चतुर्धा करोतीति चतुर्धाकरणं किं सर्वेषामुताग्नेयस्यैवेति संशयः । तत्र—

“अग्निसम्बन्धमात्रेण भवेद्व्योपलक्षणम् ।

सम्बन्धश्चाविशिष्टोऽतः सर्वेषामुपलक्षणम्^२ ॥

एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“केवलाद्देवतावाची तद्धितोऽग्नेः समुच्चरन् ।

नान्ययुक्ताग्निदेवत्वं प्रतिपादयितुं चमः^३ ॥

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २०७-२०८ ।

२-३ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २०८ ।

न चायं सम्बन्धमात्रे प्रत्ययः सर्वत्राग्निकलिभ्यां ढक् वक्तव्य इति स्मरणादिति वाच्यम् । इह देवतार्थायात्र (देवतार्थस्मैवात्र ?) वोचितत्वात् । प्रसिद्धसम्बन्धं हि लक्षणं भवति । प्रसिद्धिश्च विधि-वाक्यायत्ता । तत्र चाग्नेर्देवतात्वमेवावगतम् । तस्मादाग्नेयस्यैव चतुर्धाकरणम् ।

यदपि शतपथब्राह्मणे 'तं चतुर्धा कृत्वा पुरोडाशं बर्हिषदं करोती'ति सामान्यवचनं तदपि अनेनैव वचनेन उपसंह्रियते ।

यत्तु कात्यायनेनोक्तं 'अविशेषादुभौ वे'ति तत् न्यायविरोधा-दनादर्त्तव्यमित्याचार्याः^१ ।

तदाहुः—

“सत्यमस्ति अतिर्येयमविशेषेण दृश्यते ।

विशेषे स्थाप्यते सा तु नित्यं शाखान्तरीयया^२” ॥

इति श्रीमीमांसाशास्त्रसर्वस्वे तृतीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

अथ तृतीयाध्याये द्वितीयः पादः ।

—*—

१ मुख्यं विनियोगाधिकरणम् ।

अर्थाभिधानसंयोगान्मन्त्रेषु शेषभावः स्यात्तस्मा-दुत्पत्तिसम्बन्धोऽर्थेन नित्यसंयोगात् ॥ १ ॥

आद्यपादे अतिविनियोगश्चिन्तितः । इदानीं लिङ्गविनि-योगश्चिन्त्यते । विनियोगकत्वं च यद्यपि लिङ्गस्य मन्त्राधिकरण

१ कुमारिलभट्टाचार्याख्यनन्त्रवार्तिके, पृ० ७६१ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्तिके, पृ० ७६१ ।

एव सिद्धं, अर्थप्रकाशनेनोपकुर्वन्तीत्यभिहितत्वात् तथापि किं मुख्य-
एवार्थं विनियोग उत गौणेऽपीति विशेषश्चिन्त्यते ।

तत्र—

“अर्थानां स्मरणार्हत्वान्मन्त्राणां चापि शक्तिः ।

प्रतिप्रधानमावृत्तेर्गुणानामुभयार्थता^१” ॥

गौणानां मुख्यानां चार्थानां अनुष्ठेयत्वात् स्मरणमपेक्षितं मन्त्रा-
श्चार्थं प्रति गुणभूताः समर्थाश्च यथाकथञ्चित्स्मारयितुं साक्षात्त्व-
श(?)स्त्वकिञ्चित्करः । प्रतिप्रधानं च गुणावृत्तिर्याव्या, तस्मादुभयत्र
विनियोग इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“गौणे सदपि सामर्थ्यं न प्रमाणान्तरादिना ।

आविर्भवति मुख्ये तु शब्दादेवाविरस्ति तत् ॥

तात्पर्यं च स्वतो मुख्ये गौणार्थपरता पुनः ।

प्रमाणान्तरविज्ञेया तदभावान्न सिध्यति^२” ॥

एवञ्च प्रथमावगतमुख्यविनियोगेनैव कृतार्थत्वान्मन्त्रो निरा-
काङ्क्षः । गौणोर्थोऽपि ध्यानाद्युपायान्तरेणापि स्मृतिसिद्धेर्न मन्त्र-
मपेक्षते । अतः प्रामाणिकस्तत्र विनियोगः । मुख्ये तु मन्त्राकांक्षा-
वशाद्विनियोगः ।

यस्य तु मुख्योऽर्थः प्रकरणे नास्ति तस्योत्कर्षः । यथा
पूषाद्यनुमन्त्रणमन्त्राणाम् ।

यस्य त्वत्कर्षोऽपि न सम्भवति तस्य जपमात्रेणोपयोगः । न तु
गौणत्वं, अप्रामाणिकत्वात् । तस्मात् ‘वर्हिर्देवसदनं दामी’त्येतद्दृश-
च्छेदन (?) एव विनियुज्यते न तु गौणेऽपि ॥

२ ऐन्द्रीयन्याये (ऐन्द्रागार्हपत्ये) विनियोगाधि- करणम् ।

वचनात्त्वयथार्थमैन्द्री स्यात् ॥ ३ ॥

अपवादोऽयम् । अग्नौ श्रूयते 'निवेशनः सङ्गमनो वसूना-
मित्यैन्द्रा गार्हपत्यमुपतिष्ठत' इति शाखान्तरे तु 'कदाचन
स्तरौरसि नेन्द्रसश्च सिदाशुषे' इति ऋक् पद्यते ।

तत्र संशयः—किमनेन मन्त्रेण विनियोगार्थवर्णना । तथा च
गार्हपत्यशब्देन यज्ञसाधनसामर्थ्यात् गौण्या वृत्त्या इन्द्र एवोच्यते ।
एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“ गौणत्वं यत्र नाम स्यात्कचिद्वाह्यमन्त्रयोः ।

तत्रानुवादरूपत्वान्मन्त्राणां गौणतेर्यथे^१ ॥

स्यादग्नेर्गौणमिन्द्रत्वं यज्ञसम्बन्धकारितम् ।

इन्द्रत्यर्थानुसाराद्वा स्वकार्ये सोऽपि हीश्वरः^२ ॥ ”

तस्मात् औतविनियोगानुरोधेन मन्त्रो गौणार्थक इति सिद्धम् ।
एवं सति लिङ्गादिन्द्रार्थता भवति न वेति बलाबलाधिकरणे
चिन्तयिष्यते ॥

३ आह्वानविनियोगाधिकरणम् ।

तथाह्वानमपीति चेत् ॥ ५ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोरान्वायते । 'हविष्कृदेहीति चिरवघ्नन्नाह्वय-
ती'ति ।

तत्र किमयं मन्त्रो गौणेऽवधाते प्रयोक्तव्यः उत मुख्ये आह्वान
इति संशयः ।

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ७७० ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ७७१ ।

तदर्थञ्च किमवगन्तव्यवधातमुद्दिश्य मन्त्रो विधीयते । किं वा मन्त्रस्याङ्गानेन सम्बन्धः । हन्तिषु काललक्षणार्थः । हविष्कृदेहीति चिराङ्गयति अवधातकाल इति । तत्र—

“पूर्वाधिकरणन्यायादिधौ युक्ता न लक्षणा ।

मन्त्रस्य त्वयथार्थत्वं वचनान्नैव दुष्यति^१ ॥”

तस्मादवधाताङ्गं मन्त्र इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“तस्मादत्र चिरभ्यासो विधातव्यस्तथा सति ।

मन्त्रस्य न विधिः शक्यो वाक्यभेदप्रसङ्गतः ॥

आङ्गानेन तु मन्त्रस्य योगो हन्तेषु लक्षणा^२ ॥”

अवधातकाले सहायाङ्गानमर्थप्राप्तम् । अतोऽनुवादमात्रमव-
हन्तिः । अनुवादे च न लक्षणादोषः । तवापि ब्राह्मणे आङ्गयते-
गौणत्वम् । एहीति शब्दोच्चारणसाम्यमात्रेण तत्प्रयोगात् ।

किञ्च एहीति परप्रेषणरूपस्य मध्यमपुरुषस्य हविष्कृदिति च सम्बोधनरूपस्य अचेतनेऽवधाते सामर्थ्यमेव नास्ति । तस्मात्त्रिङ्गप्राप्त-
मन्त्रानुवादेन चिरावृत्तिमात्रं विधीयते आङ्गानाङ्गमेव च मन्त्रो न
लावधाताङ्गम् ॥

४ अग्निविहरणादिप्रकाशकमन्त्रविनियोगाधिकरणम् ।

तथोत्थानविसर्जने ॥ १० ॥

ज्योतिष्टोमे समामनन्ति—‘उत्तिष्ठन्नवाहाग्नीन्विहरेति तथा व्रतं
चरतेति वाचं विसृजती’ति ।

तत्र सन्देहः—किमुत्थानं वाग्विसर्जनञ्च प्रतिमन्त्रयोरुपदेश उत
कालार्थः संयोग इति ।

तत्र पूर्वपक्षसिद्धान्तौ प्राग्वत् । निरभ्यासपरत्वात् पूर्वत्र मन्त्रोप-
देशो न जातः इह तु अङ्गाङ्गित्वपक्षेऽपि वाक्यभेदो नास्तीति
विशेषाशङ्का श्रुतिविनियोगाभावात् । मन्त्रलिङ्गविरोधाच्च कालार्थ
एवेह संयोगः । कालश्चेह विधीयते । न पूर्ववदनूद्यत इति विशेषः ॥

५ सूक्तवाकस्य प्रस्तरप्रहरणाङ्गताधिकरणम् ।

सूक्तवाके च कालविधिः परार्थत्वात् ॥ ११ ॥

‘सूक्तवाकेन प्रस्तरं प्रहरती’ति ।

तत्र किं सूक्तवाकस्य काललक्षकत्वमुत प्रहरणाङ्गत्वमिति संशयः ।

किं प्राप्तं कालार्थसंयोग इति । यथा दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यामिष्टा-
सोमेन यजतेति उभयोः कृतार्थत्वात् कालार्थसंयोगस्तथेहापि सूक्त-
वाक्येष्टदेवताभिधानेन कृतार्थत्वात्प्रहरणस्य च सुगुंधारणाद्युपयुक्त-
प्रस्तरप्रतिपादनेन प्रयोजनवत्त्वात् । तत्रापि निश्चातकालत्वात् सूक्त-
वाकः प्रहरणकालं लक्षयति । इत्यंभूतलक्षणे च तृतीया । न हि
कथञ्चिदपि देवताभिधायिनः सूक्तवाकस्य प्रहरणाङ्गता सम्भवति ।
प्रहरणे देवताभावात् । एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

तृतीयाश्रुत्या सूक्तवाकः करणम् । यद्यपीष्टदेवताप्रकाशनेन
कृतार्थोऽसौ तथापि वचनादिनियुज्यते । श्रुतिविनियुक्तमन्त्रबलादेव
च तदभिधेयाभिरिष्टदेवताभिः सह प्रकरणस्य संयोगे कल्पिते
प्रहरतिपरमिष्टदेवतासंस्कारार्थो^१ होमः फलति । तेनेष्टदेवता-
प्रकाशनं कुर्वत एव सूक्तवाकस्य प्रहरणाङ्गत्वं सिद्धम् ।

यत्तु लक्षणे तृतीयेति तन्न । कारकविभक्तेर्वलीयस्त्वात् । तथा
हि—त्वया लक्षणक्रियागर्भः सम्बन्धो वाच्यः । सा च नेहोपात्ता ।

उपान्तक्रियासम्बन्धसु नान्यापेक्ष इति बलीयान् । तथा च लिङ्गं
सूक्तवाक एव याज्या प्रस्तर आङ्गरिति एवकारस्तु त्रयाज्यायां
याज्योपचारं दर्शयति । न च मुख्यमेव तथात्वमस्त्विति वाच्यम् ।
होमाङ्गस्य तदयोगात् । निगदानां तन्निषेधाच्च । आह च—

“न च प्रहरणं यागरूपमात्रेऽवतिष्ठते ।

होम एव त्वयं स्पष्टः प्रक्षेपाधिक्यचोदनात् ॥

आधारादि यथा द्रव्यचारणाद्धोमताङ्गतम् ।

तथा प्रक्षेपरूपत्वाद्धरणस्यापि होमता ॥

होमाङ्गस्य च याज्यात्वं न कस्य चिदपीक्ष्यते ।

निगदत्वाद्विशेषेण सूक्तवाके निषिध्यते ।

अत्रयाज्या एव निगदा च्छेव यजतीति हि^१” ॥

ई सूक्तवाकानामर्थानुसारेण विनियोगाधिकरणम् ।

कृत्स्नोपदेशादुभयत्र सर्ववचनम् ॥ १५ ॥

प्रहरणाङ्गं सूक्तवाक इति स्थितम् ।

स किं पौर्णमास्याममावास्यायां च कृत्स्नः प्रयोक्तव्य उतेष्ट-
देवतानुरोधेन विभज्येति संशयः ।

तत्र आग्नेयादिभावनानां षष्ठामपि अन्योन्यनिरपेक्षाणामेव
कथंभावात्मकप्रकरणवत्त्वादेकैकस्य कर्मणः सकलसूक्तवाकोऽङ्गं
प्रयाजादिवत् सूक्तवाकशब्दस्य समस्तानुवाकवचनः । एवं स्थिते
एककालवर्तिनां त्रयाणां तन्त्रेण प्रयाजादिवदुपकरोतीति भेदेन न
प्रयोक्ष्यते । समुदायद्वये तु कालभेदात्सकलस्यैकावृत्तिः । तत्रा-
विद्यमानार्थानि पदान्यदृष्टार्थानि गौणानि वेति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

१ ‘यागमात्ररूपे’ इति तन्त्रवार्तिकमुद्रितपुस्तकपाठः ।

२ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ७७७-७७८ ।

“सूक्तवाक्यशब्दस्यावयवव्युत्पत्त्या इष्टदेवताप्रकाशमन्त्रपकरणमेव^१ युक्तं सूक्तं वक्तुमिति हि सूक्तवाक्यः । तेन यस्मिन्प्रयोगे यावत्यो याश्च देवता इष्टाः एका वा बह्व्यो वा प्राकृत्यो वा वैकृत्यो वा तत्र तावद्देवतापदप्रयोगादेव सम्पूर्णः सूक्तवाक्यः । अनिष्टदेवतापदप्रयोगे तु प्रत्युत सूक्तवाक्यत्वं हित्वा दुरुक्तवाक्य एव स्यात् । तस्मादिष्टदेवतानुरोधेन^२” विभज्य प्रयोग इति सिद्धम् ।

आह च—

“विन्दौ च समुदाये च तोयशब्दो यथेत्यते ।

संसर्गिद्रूपत्वात्सूक्तवाक्यपदं तथा^३” ॥

७ काम्ययाज्यानुवाक्यानां काम्यमात्राङ्गताधिकारणम् ।

लिङ्गक्रमसमाख्यानात् काम्ययुक्तं समाम्नातम् ॥ १६ ॥

‘ऐन्द्राग्रमेकादशकपालं निर्वपे’दित्यारभ्य इष्टयः समाम्नाताः । तल्लिङ्गक्रमेणैव च काम्ययाज्यानुवाक्याकाण्डमित्येवं समाम्नातम् । मन्त्रकाण्डं समाम्नातं ‘इन्द्राग्नी रोचनादिव’ इत्यादि ।

तदिह मन्त्रकाण्डे संशयः—किमेते मन्त्रा यत्र यत्र समर्थास्तत्र तत्र विनियोक्तव्या उत क्रमसमाख्याभ्यां काम्येष्टिव्येवेति ।

तत्र लिङ्गस्याविशेषात् क्रमसमाख्याभ्यां प्राबल्याच्च सर्वार्थतेति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“अग्न्यादिस्वरूपमात्रप्रतिपादनं यद्यपि सामर्थ्यादवगतं तथापि न तन्मात्रप्रकाशने फलमस्ति । कर्मापूर्वसाधनरूपप्रकाशनार्थता तु न कर्मसम्बन्धप्रमाणमन्यदन्तरेण सामर्थ्यमात्रात् सिध्यति । न

१ अत्र ‘मन्त्रवचनादि’ति शास्त्रदीपिकाकारसम्मतः पाठः ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २१७ ।

३ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ७८५ ।

चाग्निमूर्थादीनां सुवादिवत् क्लव्यभिचारः येन क्रतुरपस्थाप्येत । तस्मात्कमसमाख्याभ्यां काम्येष्टिष्वेव विनियोगः । कर्मन्तरेषु तु उपायान्तरेणापि स्मृतिसिद्धिर्न मन्त्रापेक्षानियमः । यत्र तु नियम-
स्तत्र भवत्येव सामर्थ्यमात्राद्विनियोगः । यथार्थज्ञानस्यानुष्ठाना-
ङ्गत्वम् । न हि तद्विनानुष्ठानं सिध्यति^१ ॥

८ आग्नीध्रोपस्थाने प्रकृतानां मन्त्राणां विनियोगाधिकरणम् ।

अधिकारे च मन्त्रविधिरतदाख्येषु शिष्टत्वात् ॥ २० ॥

ज्योतिष्टोमे ‘अग्न आयाहि वीतय’ इत्यादयो विशेषरूपेणा-
संयुक्ताः पठिताः । सोत्रादौ च वाक्यान्तरेणवियुक्ताः । प्रदेशान्तरे
च ‘आग्नेय्याग्नीध्रमुपतिष्ठत’ इति विश्रुतम् ।

तत्र किं प्रकृता अप्रकृताश्चाग्नेय्यो ग्राह्याः उत प्रकृता एवेति
संग्रहः ।

तत्राविशेषात्सर्वाः । न च प्रकरणाद्विशेषः । प्रकरणस्याविशेष-
कत्वात् । यदि ह्याग्नेयीसंस्कारार्थमिदमुपस्थानं स्यात्ततोऽपूर्वा-
सम्बन्धिनः संस्कारायोगात् तत्साधनभूताः प्रकृता गृह्येरन् । इह
तु तृतीयानिर्द्देशादुपादेयास्ताः । अतो न प्रकृतनियमः । न च
सन्निधिर्नियामकः । अन्यार्थस्य सन्निहितस्याप्यविशेषकत्वात् । यथा
अश्वेन गच्छति श्वेतेन पटेन प्रावृत इत्यत्र सन्निहितोऽपि श्वेतगुणो
नाश्वं विशिनष्टि तथेहापीति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“प्रकृता एव गृह्येरन् प्रसिद्धक्रतुसंगमाः ।

तासां कार्यविशेषो हि सुखमचोपदिश्यते ॥

आग्नीध्रोपस्थानस्य हि द्वे रूपे—आग्नीध्रोपस्थानता ज्योतिष्टोमा-
पूर्वसाधनौपचिकव्यापारता च । इयमपि शास्त्रगम्यम् । अन्य-
तरेणान्यतरस्थानाच्चेपात् । तथा च यद्यप्रकृताभिरूपस्थानं विधीयेत
ततः तस्योपस्थानरूपमेव श्रुतेर्लभ्येत न तु ज्योतिष्टोमव्यापारत्वम् ।
अश्रुतत्वात्^१” ।

नन्ववघातादिवदुपस्थानस्य प्रकरणात् क्रतुव्यापारत्वं लभ्यत इति
चेत् । सत्यम् । किन्तु श्रुतिं कल्पयित्वा । न चेहाकल्पनधोपपत्तौ
कल्पना युक्ता । आग्नेय्या क्रतुं प्रति आग्नीध्रोपस्थानरूपं व्यापारं
कुर्यादिति हि प्रकरणकल्पितं तु सम्बन्धं श्रुत्युक्तं चोपस्थानरूपमय-
मेव विधिर्विदध्यात् । तथा च गौरवम् । अवघातादिषु तु
गत्यभावात् अङ्गीकृतम् । इह त्वस्ति गतिः । तथा हि प्रकृतानां
प्रागेव क्रतुगतो व्यापारः कर्तव्यत्वेनावधारितः । तस्यावधारित-
व्यापारस्याग्नीध्रोपस्थानात्मकं विशेषरूपमेवात्र विधीयते । य
आग्नेय्या क्रतौ व्यापारः कर्तव्यः स आग्नीध्रोपस्थानरूप इति ।
तेन प्रागेव कल्पितं विहितं चाग्नेय्याः क्रतुव्यापारमनूद्य विशेषमात्रं
श्रुत्युपात्तमिह विधीयते । न त्विह क्रतुव्यापारः कल्प्यते नापि
विधीयत इति लाघवात्प्रकृतग्रहणम्^२ ॥

६ भक्षमन्त्राणां यथालिङ्गं ग्रहणादौ विनियोगाधि-
करणम् ।

लिङ्गसमाख्यानाभ्यां भक्षार्थतानुवाकस्य ॥ २४ ॥

भक्षमन्त्रः श्रूयते—‘भक्षे हि मा विश’ इत्यादिः । तस्य कश्चिदंशो
भक्षणं प्रतिपादयति । ग्रहणावेक्षणसम्यग्जरणप्रकाशकाश्चान्येऽंशाः ।

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २२० ।

२ अस्मिन्नप्यधिकरणे शास्त्रदीपिकानुरूपाः पङ्क्तयो द्रष्टव्याः, पृ० २२०-२२१ ।

तत्र किं सर्वः भक्षणे विनियोक्तव्य उत यथासामर्थ्यं ग्रहणादिष्वपि विनियोक्तव्य इति मन्त्राशयः । तत्र—

“सर्वस्य भक्षणाङ्गत्वं ग्रहणादेरचोदनात् ।
अक्रत्वर्थो न मन्त्रस्य द्वारीभवितुमर्हति ॥
भक्षानुवाकसंज्ञा च भक्षणाङ्गत्वबोधिनी ।
सामर्थ्यं चास्ति मन्त्रस्य भक्षणे तद्विशेषणात्^१” ॥

इत्येवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“ग्रहणादौ विभागेन विनियोगोऽस्य लिङ्गतः ।
वाक्यसंज्ञे हि नेशाते कर्तुं लिंगस्य बाधनम् ॥
ग्रहणादि च शास्त्रेण साक्षाद्यद्यथोदितम् ।
तथापि चोदितार्थेन कर्तव्यत्वात्प्रकाशयते ॥

समाख्या तु भक्षणसम्बन्धमात्रं प्रतिपादयन्ती^२” ग्रहणादिद्वारक-
परं परासम्बन्धेऽप्युपपद्यते । भक्षणं चेह सम्यग्जरणान्तं प्रतिपत्तितया
विधीयत इति तदप्यासनविशेषादिव्यापारेण कर्तव्यमिति तत्रापि
विभज्यमन्त्रविनियोगः ॥

१० मन्त्राभिभूतिरित्यादेरेकमन्त्रताधिकरणम् ।
गुणाभिधानान्मन्त्रादिरेकमन्त्रः स्यात्तयोरेकार्थ-
संयोगात् ॥ २६ ॥

भक्षमंत्र एव मन्त्राभिभूतिरित्यादि तथ्यत्वित्यन्तं श्रुतम् ।

तत्र—

“ग्रहणादिवदेकार्थाक्षिप्तदृष्टिप्रकाशनात् ।
तथ्यत्वन्तः पृथङ्मन्त्र इति प्राप्तेऽभिधीयते ॥

१ शास्त्रद्वौपिका, पृ० २२२ ।

२ शास्त्रद्वौपिका, पृ० २२३ ।

येषां पृथगनुष्ठानमर्थाच्चिन्नं प्रतीयते ।

तेषां मन्त्रप्रकाशत्वं नानुनिष्पादिनां भवेत्^१ ॥

न हि ग्रहणादाविव भक्षणादन्यस्तृप्तौ व्यापारोऽस्ति । यत्सु-
त्यर्थं मन्त्रोऽपेक्ष्येत । तस्मात्तृप्तिविशिष्टमन्त्रप्रकाशनार्थः ॥

११ इन्द्रपीतस्येत्यादिमन्त्राणां विनियोगाधिकरणम् ।
लिङ्गविशेषनिर्देशात् समानविधानेष्वनैन्द्राणा-
ममन्त्रत्वम् ॥ २७ ॥

भक्षमन्त्रे श्रूयते 'इन्द्रपीतस्ये'ति ।

सन्त्यैन्द्राण्यनैन्द्राणि च ज्योतिष्टोमे प्रदानानि ।

तत्र संशयः— किमैन्द्रेष्वेवायं मन्त्रः अनैन्द्राणाममन्त्रकं भक्षणमुत
तेष्वप्युद्देशेन मन्त्रः । अथ वा सर्वत्र यथास्नातमेव मन्त्र इति ।
तदर्थं च किमैन्द्राणामनैन्द्राणां च प्रकृतिविकृतिभावोऽस्ति न वेति ।
तथा इन्द्रपीतस्येति तत्पुरुषः सोमविशेषणं किं वा वज्रव्रीहिरिन्द्रेण
पीतो यस्मिन् सोमस्तस्य प्रातःसवनस्येति ।

“तत्र तत्पुरुषे स्वार्थलाभः स्यादुत्तरे पदे ।

वज्रव्रीहौ द्वयोरन्यपदत्वादुर्बलत्वधौः ॥

ऐन्द्रानैन्द्रप्रदानानि ह्यंशा एकस्य कर्मणः ।

प्रकृतिर्विकृतिश्चेष्टा न चात्मैवात्मनः कश्चित् ॥

तेन तत्पुरुषबलीयस्त्वाद्यथान्नातमन्त्रस्यानैन्द्रेष्वसामर्थ्यात्समाने च
कर्मणि प्रकृतिविकृतिभावासंभवेनोहाद्योगादनैन्द्राणाममन्त्रकं भक्षण-
मित्येकः पूर्वपक्षः । अपरस्तु सत्यपि कर्मैकत्वे प्रदानानां भिन्नत्वा-
दविरुद्धः प्रकृतिविकृतिभावः । मानग्रहणमन्त्राच्च ऐन्द्रप्रदानविषय

एव सोमः । ‘इन्द्राय वसुमते सोमं गृह्णामि’ इत्यादयो मन्त्रा हि
अनैन्द्रेषु प्रदानेष्वसमर्थाः । भवति चाङ्गवशेन प्रधानस्य विषय-
व्यवस्था । यथा आहवनीयवशेनाग्निहोत्रादेराहिताग्निविषयत्वम् ।
अतो यत्र मन्त्रस्तत्र मानग्रहणे यत्र ते तत्र सोमः यत्र सोम-
स्तत्राभिषवादयो भक्षस्तन्मन्त्रश्च । प्रदानान्तराणि त्वधर्मकाणि ।
चोदकेनैतान् धर्मान्गृह्णन्ति । तत्र देवताविशिष्टभक्षप्रकाशकत्वेनोप-
कृतवतो भक्षमन्त्रस्य कार्यवशेन विकृतिमागतस्य यथादेवतमूहः ।
एवमूहे स्थितमधिकरणमपरिसमाप्त्यैव प्रसङ्गादूहविषयश्चिन्त्यते^१ ॥

१२ अभ्युन्नीतसोमभक्षणाधिकरणम् ।

पुनरभ्युन्नीतेषु सर्वेषामुपलक्षणं द्विशेषत्वात् ॥ २६ ॥

“सवनमुखीयेषु चमसेष्वेन्द्रेषु सर्वेषु ऊतेषु ये होत्रकाणां
मैत्रावरुणादौनां चमसास्तेष्वभक्षितेषु सशेषेष्वेव पुनः सोमोऽभ्युन्नीय
देवतान्तरेभ्यो मित्रावरुणादिभ्यो ऊत्वा भक्ष्यते ।

तत्र संग्रहः । किं पूर्वप्रकृतप्रदाने देवताभूत इन्द्रोऽप्युपलक्षणीय
इन्द्रमित्रावरुणपीतस्येति किं वा नेति ।

तत्रोन्नयनोत्तरता^२ विप्रदानकाले पूर्वशेषस्याभ्युन्नीतस्योभयस्य
चमसस्थत्वेन तत्कालनिर्दिश्यमानदेवतान्तरसम्बन्धादपेतसम्बन्धापूर्व-
देवता नोपलक्षणीयेति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

यद्यप्युन्नयनकाले न देवतासंकल्पस्तथाप्युन्नयनं तावत्करिष्यमाण-
यागार्थमित्यसन्दिग्धम् । अतश्चाभ्युन्नीतस्य करिष्यमाणयागार्थतया

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २२४-२२५ ।

२ अथ “तत्रोन्नयनकाले देवतान्तरसंकल्पो न क्रियते । यदि क्रियेत तत
उन्नीयमानस्यैव देवतान्तरसम्बन्धो न पूर्वस्थितस्य शेषस्येति तस्य पूर्वदेवतासम्बन्धो
नापेयात् । उन्नयनमात्रं तु तदा क्रियते । देवतानिर्देशस्तु प्रदानकाले तदा च
पूर्वे”त्यादि शास्त्रदीपिका पाठः ।

तदीयदेवतासम्बन्धो नान्यस्य । तस्मात्पूर्वशेषस्य ज्ञान^१सम्बन्धान-
पायात् साध्यपलक्षणीया^२ ॥

१३ पान्नीवतभक्षण इन्द्रादीनामनुपलक्षणाधि-
करणम् ।

पान्नीवते तु पूर्ववत् ॥ ३२ ॥

“द्विदेवत्यानामैन्द्रवायवादीनां शेषा आदित्यस्थालीमागत्य
ततोऽप्याग्रयणस्थालीमागच्छन्ति पान्नीवतश्चाग्रयणपात्राद्गृह्यते ।

तस्मिन्भक्ष्यमाणे किमिन्द्रवाय्वादयोऽप्युपलक्षणीया उत पान्नी-
वानेवेति संशयः^३ ॥

पूर्ववत्सर्वेषामुपलक्षणमिति प्राप्तं नैतदेवम् । न ह्यत्राग्रयणं
पान्नीवतं कुर्यादिति श्रुतं किं तु “पान्नीवतमाग्रयणाद्गृह्णातीत्य-
पादानमात्रमाग्रयणम् । अतो यत्ततोपेतं तत्पान्नीवतं आग्रय-
णांशवच्चानाग्रयणमपि तत्संस्पृष्टं द्विदेवत्वं ततोपेतमिति पान्नीवत-
मेव^४ ॥” । अतः पूर्वदेवतासम्बन्धावगमात् इन्द्रवाय्वादयो नोप-
लक्षयितव्याः ॥

१४ पान्नीवतशेषभक्षे त्वष्टुरनुपलक्षणीयताधि-
करणम् ।

त्वष्टारं तूपलक्षयेत् पानात् ॥ ३४ ॥

“तस्मिन्नेव पान्नीवते आध्वर्यवो होममन्त्रः । ‘अग्नाद् ३-
पान्नीवान् सजूर्देवेन त्वष्ट्रा सोमं पिव स्वाहे’ति ।

१ ‘ज्ञान’ इत्यस्य स्थाने ‘देवता’ इति शास्त्रदीपिकासम्मतः पाठः ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २२५-२२६ ।

३-४ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २२६ ।

तत्र मन्त्रवर्णनाग्नेः पत्नीवतस्त्वष्ट्रा सह पानं गम्यते । तदन्यथा-
नुपपत्त्या त्वष्टुरपि देवतात्वम् । अतः सोऽप्युपलक्षयितव्य इति प्राप्ते
ब्रूमः—

अग्नेरेव पानं गम्यते । त्वष्टुस्तु सहभावमात्रम् । न च सह-
भावस्तत्क्रियासम्बन्धाव्यभिचारौ । ‘सहैव दशभिः पुत्रैर्भारं वहति
गर्दभौ’त्यादौ तदभावात् । अस्तु वा पानं तथापि न देवतात्वम् ।
उद्देशमात्रलक्षणत्वात्तस्याः । न हि देवता पिवतीति वक्ष्यते ।

किञ्च चोदनायां तद्धितेन निरपेक्षस्य पत्नीवतो देवतात्वं
गम्यमानं न मान्त्रवर्णिक्या देवताया बाधविकल्पसमुच्चयान् सहते ।
अतो नोपलक्षणीयस्त्वष्ट्रा^१ ॥

१५ पत्नीवतशेषभक्षे त्रिंशतामनुपलक्षणाधिकरणम् ।

त्रिंशच्च परार्थत्वात् ॥ ३६ ॥

तस्मिन्नेव पत्नीवते याज्यामन्त्रः ‘एभिरग्ने सरथं या ह्यर्वाङ्-
नानारथं वा विभवो ह्यश्वः । पत्नीवतस्त्रिंशतं चींश्च देवाननु-
ष्वधमावहमादयस्वे’ति ।

तत्र किं त्रयस्त्रिंशदुपलक्षयितव्या उत नेति संशयः ।

“पूर्वत्राग्नेरेव पानम् । त्वष्टुस्तु सहभावमात्रमित्यदेवतात्व-
मुक्तम् । इदं तु विपरीतम् । अग्नेर्मा दयित्वत्वात्तया इतरे
माद्यन्तीत्यवगमात् । अतस्तेषां देवतात्वम् । न च चोदनया
विरोधः । तथा हि पत्नीवन्मात्रस्य देवतात्वमुक्तं न तु तद्विशेषस्य ।
तत्र यथा अग्ने पत्नीवन्निति मन्त्रगतसामानाधिकरण्यादग्नेः पत्नी-
वत्त्वेन देवतात्वमेवं त्रयस्त्रिंशतोऽपि देवतानां पत्नीवतस्त्रिंशतं चींश्च

देवानिति सामानाधिकरण्यात् तस्मात्त्रयस्त्रिंशदुपलक्षणीया इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

यतोऽग्नेर्मादयित्वमत एव तस्यैव देवतात्वं न ह्यसौ यजमान-
द्रव्येण त्रयस्त्रिंशतं मादयितुं शक्नुयात् । न यदि यजमानोऽग्नये
दद्यादतोऽग्नेरेव यजमानसंकल्पविषयत्वाद्देवतात्वं इतरे त्वग्निदत्तेन
कामं माद्यन्तु । न तु यजमानस्तेभ्यो ददातीति^१” अदेवतात्वान्न
तेषामुपलक्षणं किन्त्वग्नेरेव ॥

१६ भक्षणेऽनुवषट्कारदेवताया अनुपलक्षणाधि-
करणम् ।

वषट्कारश्च कर्तव्यः ॥ ३७ ॥

“अनुवषट्कारदेवताया अग्नेरसन्दिग्धं देवतात्वमिति उप-
लक्षणं प्राप्तम् ।

प्रकृतौ तु विद्यमानाण्यसौ नोपलक्षिता । किं तु प्रधानदेवता-
भूत इन्द्र एवोपलक्षितः । अतो विकृतावपि तत्कार्यापन्नप्रधानदेवता
एवोपलक्षणीया नानुवषट्कारदेवतेति सिद्धान्तः^२” ॥

१७ कृत्वाचिन्तारूपे अनैन्द्राणाममन्त्रकभक्षणाधि-
करणम् ।

छन्दः प्रतिषेधस्तु सर्वगामित्वात् ॥ ३८ ॥

“स्थितादुत्तरमिदम् । नाख्यूहः समानविधानत्वात्प्रदानानाम् ।

यत्तु ऐन्द्रप्रधानविषयः सोम इत्युक्तं तन्न । स हि सोमेन
यजेतेति कर्मात्पत्तौ श्रुतः कर्मणोऽङ्गं न तु प्रदानविशेषस्य । तदेव

१ शास्त्रदौषिका, पृ० २२७-२२८ ।

२ शास्त्रदौषिका, पृ० २२८ ।

च कर्म सर्वप्रदानेध्वभ्यस्यत इति सर्वाणि समानविधानानि । मान-
ग्रहणमन्त्रौ तु लिङ्गादैन्द्रप्रदानविषयौ कामं भवेतां न तु सोमोऽपि ।
अतः समानविधानत्वादनूहः । भक्षमन्त्रस्तु लिङ्गादैन्द्रेध्वेत्यनैन्द्राणा-
ममन्त्रकमेव भक्षणमिति । एवं प्रथमपच एव स्थितमधिकरणम् ।
एवं स्थिते पुनः कृत्वाचिन्ता^१ ॥

१८ ऐन्द्राग्नभक्षस्यामन्त्रकताधिकरणम् ।

ऐन्द्राग्ने तु लिङ्गभावात्स्यात् ॥ ३६ ॥

यत्रान्यसहित इन्द्रो देवता यथैन्द्रादिषु तत्र मन्त्रो भवति नेति
संशयः ।

“तत्र मिश्रोद्देशेनापि दत्तः सोमोऽंशतः प्रत्येकमुभाभ्यां पीयते ।
तेन पानेऽन्योन्यनिरपेक्षत्वात् द्वाभ्यामपि पीत इन्द्रपीतो भवत्येव
यथा छित्यमातेति^२ ॥ तस्मादैन्द्राग्नादिषु समन्त्रकं भक्षणमिति
प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“देवताधिकरणन्यायेन पानाभावात् पिवतिरत्र दानमुप-
लक्षणार्थः । दानं च मिश्रविषयकं नान्यतरेण व्यपदेशं शक्यत इति
चतुर्धाकरणवदैन्द्राग्नादिषु मन्त्राभावः^३ ॥ १६ ॥

१९ मन्त्रविशेषाणामनेकच्छन्दस्के विनियोगाधि-
करणम् ।

छन्दश्च देवतावत् ॥ ४१ ॥

तत्रैव मन्त्रे गायत्रच्छन्दस इति श्रुतम् ।

तत्र किं यस्मिन्प्रदाने गायत्रमेव छन्दस्तत्र मन्त्रः उत नाना-
छन्दस्केऽपीति संशयः ।

पूर्ववत्केवलकन्दोविषयत्वे प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

सर्वेषु प्रधानेषु बज्जमन्त्रसमवायेन कन्दोन्तराणामवश्यम्भावात्
नित्यसापेक्षत्वाद्वा समासः । वस्तुतस्तु नेह सापेक्षत्वं सर्वमन्त्राणा-
मन्योन्यनिरपेक्षाणामेव कर्मसम्बन्धात् । अतः सत्यपि कन्दोऽन्तरे
गायत्रच्छन्दसस्तदनपेक्षतया पूर्वाधिकरणपूर्वपक्षवत् समासाविधाना-
भावान्नानाच्छन्दस्कोऽपि भवति मन्त्रः ॥

२० एकादशाधिकरणोक्तस्योपसंहाराधिकरणम् ।

सर्वेषां त्वेकमन्त्रमैतिशयनस्य भक्तपानत्वात्सव-
नाधिकारो हि ॥ ४३ ॥

“ स्थितादुत्तरं

यदि तत्पुरुषोऽयं स्यात्स्यादनैन्द्रेष्वमन्त्रकम् ।

भक्षणं लक्षणादोषान्नायं तत्पुरुषो मतः^१ ॥

तत्पुरुषत्वे हि सोमस्य विशेषणमिन्द्रपीतशब्दः स्यात् । न च
ऊतशिष्टस्य भक्षणार्थं ऊतस्येन्द्रपीतत्वमस्ति किन्तु तदवयवत्वम् । तथा
चोपचारापत्तिः । किं च इन्द्रपीतस्येत्यत्र बज्जब्रीहिलिङ्गं पूर्वपद-
प्रकृतिस्वर उपलभ्यते । तस्माद्बज्जब्रीहिरेवायम् । इन्द्रेण यस्मिन्सवने
पीतः सोमस्तस्य सवनस्य यः सम्बन्धीयः सोमस्तस्य भक्षयामीति ।
सर्वे च सोमा एवंविधसवनसम्बन्धिन इति सर्वेषां यथान्नातमन्त्रकं
भक्षणम् ।

इति मीमांसाशास्त्रसर्वस्वे तृतीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

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१ उच्चैस्त्वादीनां वेदधर्मताधिकरणम् ।

श्रुतेर्जाताधिकारः स्यात् ॥ १ ॥

पूर्वयोः पादयोः श्रुतिलिङ्गविनियोगौ चिन्तितौ । इदानीं वाक्य-
विनियोगश्चिन्त्यते । ‘प्रजापतिरकामयत प्रजाः सृजेयेति । स तपो-
ऽतप्यत । तस्मात्ते पानात् त्रयो देवाः असृज्यन्ताग्निर्वायुरादित्यस्ते
तपोऽतप्यन्त ततस्ते पानेभ्यस्त्रयो वेदा असृज्यन्ताग्नेर्ऋग्वेदो वायो-
र्यजुर्वेद आदित्यात्सामवेद’ इत्युपक्रम्य श्रूयते ज्योतिष्टोमे—‘तस्मा-
दुच्चैर्ऋचा क्रियते उपांशु यजुषा उच्चैः सान्ने’ति ।

तत्र संशयः—किमुच्चैश्चादयो मन्त्रधर्माः ऋचा मन्त्रेणोच्चैरिति
किं वा वेदधर्माः ऋग्वेदेनोच्चैरिति । उपक्रमे वेदश्रवणात् उपसंहारे
चर्गादिश्रवणात् ।

वेदशब्दो हि मन्त्रो ब्राह्मणसमुदायस्य वक्ता न त्वेकैकस्य वाक्यस्य ।
न ह्येकं द्वे त्रीणि वाक्यानि अधीत्य “वेदानधीत्य वेदौ वा वेदं
वापि यथाक्रम”मित्येतत् शास्त्रार्थमनुष्ठितं मन्यन्ते । ऋगादि-
शब्दास्तु मन्त्रवचनाः स्थापिताः । तत्र—

“गुणत्वादर्थवादत्वादनुवादस्य लक्षणा ।

मुख्यस्यापि प्रधानत्वादप्राप्तविषयत्वतः ॥

विध्युद्देशो जघन्योऽपि स्वार्थहानिं न गच्छति ।

मुख्यापि दीक्षणीया हि लभते न स्वधर्मताम् ॥

जघन्यस्यापि सोमस्य प्रधानत्वात्स्वधर्मता ।

वक्ष्यते तददत्रापि विध्युद्देशस्य सा भवेत्^१” ॥

एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

‘य इच्छा पशुना सोमेन वा यजेते’ति वचनाल्लभात्मा सोमस्य कालो दीर्घाण्येकाकालं बाधत इति युक्तम् । इह तु इन्द्रविषय-
लेनाल्लभात्माविध्युद्देशः कथमर्थवादं बाधेत । तस्माद्गुणादिपदं जात-
प्रतिपक्षविज्ञानत्वाद्यथाश्रुतं सत्तदेकवाक्यतामप्रतिपद्यमानं तदनुगुणं
वेदं लक्ष्यदेवात्मानं लभते । उपक्रम एव हि वेदानां किञ्चि-
द्विधास्यत इति अवगतम् । किं तदित्यपेक्षायां विध्युद्देशगतोऽपि
च्छगादिशब्दोऽवगतविषयत्वादनुवाद इति लक्षणां सहते । च्छवेदेन
यत्क्रियते विधीयते तदुच्चैरिति । आह च—

“असंजातविरोधित्वादर्थवादो यथा श्रुतः ।

आख्येयन्तद्विरुद्धस्य विध्युद्देशस्य लक्षणा^१ ॥

पौर्वापर्यबलीयस्त्वं तत्र नाम प्रतीयते ।

अन्योन्यनिरपेक्षाणां यत्र जन्म धियां भवेत्^२ ” ॥

इति च । इह तु विधिस्तुत्योः सापेक्षतैव । तदिहोपक्रमोप-
संहारैकवाक्यतया वेदधर्मत्वमवधारितमिति वाक्यविनियोगः ।

२ आधाने गानस्योपांशुताधिकरणम् ।

गुणमुख्यव्यतिक्रमे तदर्थत्वान्मुख्येन वेदसंयोगः ॥ ६ ॥

“यस्य मन्त्रस्य वेदान्तरे उत्पत्तिर्वेदान्तरे च विनियोगविधिः
तस्य किंनिबन्धनः स्वर इति संशयः । तत्र—

उत्पत्तेः पूर्वभावित्वात् तन्निबन्धन एव हि ।

स्वरः प्रथमभावित्वाद्युक्तो नान्यो विलम्बितः^३ ” ॥

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २७५ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ८१६ ।

३ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २२४ ।

इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“ न खल्वान्मानमात्रेण मन्त्रस्य स्यात्प्रयोज्यता ।

तेन क्रियत इत्येवमतो वक्तुं न शक्यते ॥

तेन तु क्रियते मन्त्रो यत्र वेदे विधीयते ।

विधायत्तं ह्यनुष्ठानं तत्र चापेक्षितः स्वरः^१ ” ॥

“प्रयोज्यतयाऽवधारितस्य हि मन्त्रस्य स्वरापेक्षा भवति न तु स्वरूपावगतिमात्रेण । तस्माद्वारवन्तीयादेः सामवेदेनाक्रियमाण-
त्वादुपांशुत्वमेव^२ ” ।

३ ज्योतिष्टोमस्य याजुर्वेदिकाधिकरणम् ।

भूयस्त्वेनोभयश्रुतिः ॥ १० ॥

“ यजुर्वेदे सामवेदे च ज्योतिष्टोमः समाम्नातः ।

तस्य कतरवेदस्वरः स्यादिति विचारः । यत्र विधीयते तदीय
एव स्वरः युक्तो न तु यत्र गुणार्थं श्रवणं तदीयः । अतः कास्य
विधिरिति अनियमे प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

यजुर्वेदे द्रव्यदेवतश्रवणात्तदवच्छिन्नं कर्म विधीयते । सान्नि-
तु नामयुक्तं क्रियामात्रं श्रूयते इति न विध्वगतिः समाप्यते ।
अतो यजुर्वेदेनासौ क्रियत इति उपांशुधर्मता^२ ” ॥

४ प्रकरणस्य विनियोजकताधिकरणम् ।

असंयुक्तं प्रकरणादितिकर्तव्यतार्थित्वात् ॥ ११ ॥

श्रुतिलिङ्गवाक्यैर्विनियोग उक्तः । इदानीमधिकरणत्रयेण
प्रकरणस्थानसमाख्याभिर्विनियोगोऽभिधीयते ।

दर्शपूर्णमासयोः श्रूयते 'समिधो यजतौ'त्यादि । तद्दर्शपूर्णमासाङ्गं न वेति संशयः ।

श्रुत्यादित्रिकस्याभावात् विनियोजकान्तरस्य चाव्युत्पादना-
च्चाङ्गम् । न च फलाभावात्साकांक्षता । विश्वजित्यायेन रात्रि-
सन्न्यायेन वा तत्परिपूर्णादिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“ अविच्छिन्ने कथंभावे यत्प्रधानस्य पथते ।

अनिर्ज्ञातफलं कर्म तस्य प्रकरणाङ्गता^१ ” ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां स्वर्गं साधयेत् कथमित्येतस्यामाकांक्षायां
अविच्छिन्नायां अश्रुतप्रयोजनानि समिद्यागादीनि पथन्ते । तत्रो-
भयोः साकांक्षयोः सन्निहितयोश्चैकवाक्यत्वकल्पनं फलान्तरकल्पना-
ल्लघीयः । तथा चोभयोर्निराकांक्षत्वम् ।

नन्वेवं समिदादिष्वपि इतिकर्तव्यताकांक्षा स्यादिति चेत् ।
दृष्टापत्तेः । न चैव तत्रातिदेशापत्तिः कृत्स्नविधानेषु अतिदेशा-
योगात् । सन्निपत्योपकारकसाकल्यं कृत्स्नविधानतेत्यष्टमे वक्ष्यते ॥

५ क्रमस्य विनियोजकत्वाधिकरणम् ।

क्रमश्च देशसामान्यात् ॥ १२ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोरुपांशुयाजक्रमे दब्धिर्नामासीति मन्त्रः पथते ।

स किमुपांशुयाजाङ्गं न वेति संशयः ।

श्रुतिवाक्ययोरसत्त्वात् लिङ्गप्रकरणयोश्चाग्नेयादिष्वविशेषादुपांशु-
याजस्य विशेषाभावात्क्रमस्य चाप्रमाणत्वादनङ्गमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—
उपांशुयाजस्याङ्गमिति । कर्मणां मन्त्राणाञ्च क्रमेणान्वातानां यस्य

कर्मणः क्रमे यो मन्त्रः समान्नातः स तस्मिन्नवगते उपतिष्ठते ।
तयोः समानस्थानान्नातं सम्बन्धार्थमित्येवमाकांक्षां परिकल्प्य एक-
वाक्यता कल्प्यते । क्रमश्च देशसामान्यं तद्विविधं—पाठसादेश्य-
मनुष्ठानसादेश्यं चेति । आद्यमपि द्विधा—यथासंख्यान्नातं सन्नि-
ध्यान्नातं च । तत्राद्यस्योदाहरणमुक्तम् । सन्निधिसमान्नानोदाहरणं
तु सान्नाय्यपात्रशुन्धनक्रमात् शुन्धध्वमितिमन्त्रस्य तदङ्गत्वम् । अनु-
ष्ठानसादेश्यान्तु पशुधर्माणामग्नौषोमीयाङ्गत्वं वक्ष्यते ॥

ई समाख्याया विनियोजकताधिकरणम् ।

आख्या चैवं तदर्थत्वात् ॥ १३ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासादिषु आध्वर्यवहौत्रौद्गात्रादिसमाख्याताः पदार्थाः
किमध्वर्यादिभिरेव कर्तव्या उतानियमेनेति संशयः ।

अुत्याद्यभावादनियमेनेति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः— अनादिस्तावदपौरुषेयी
समाख्या । तेनाध्वर्यवादिशब्दाः पदार्थानां वाचकाः । नूनं
कर्तृणां पदार्थानां च सम्बन्धं विना तन्निर्वाह इति अर्थापत्त्या
सम्बन्धसामान्ये निश्चिते कर्तृणां कार्यापेक्षत्वात् पदार्थानां च कर्त्त-
पेक्षत्वात् समाख्याया च मिथःपर्युपस्थापितानां योग्यतया क्रिया-
कर्तृसम्बन्धमेव प्रयोगविधिर्विधत्त इति सिद्धः समाख्याया नियमः ॥

७ अुत्यादीनां पूर्वपूर्वबलीयस्त्वाधिकरणम् ।

अुतिलिङ्गवाक्यप्रकरणस्थानसमाख्यानां समवाये
पारदौर्बल्यमर्थविप्रकर्षात् ॥ १४ ॥

इदानीं अुत्यादीनामेकविषयसमवायेन विरोधे सति बलाबलं
चिन्त्यते ।

तत्र श्रुत्यादीनां परस्परं दुर्बलत्वम् । अत्र हेतुरर्थविप्रकर्षा-
दिति । अर्थः शेषलाभ्यः तस्मिन्विप्रकर्षः विलम्बितप्रवृत्तिकत्वम् ।
तत्र लिङ्गस्य श्रुत्यपेक्षया दुर्बलत्वं यावद्धि लिंगेन श्रुतिः कल्या-
तावत्प्रत्यक्षयैव श्रुत्या विनियोगे निराकाङ्क्षत्वेन लिङ्गेन श्रुत्यनु-
मानस्यैवासम्भवः । न च श्रुतिनिरपेक्षस्यैव लिङ्गस्य अङ्गत्वे
बोधकत्वमस्त्विति वाच्यम् । सामान्यतः शब्देन पुरुषार्थसाधनत्वाव-
गमे तद्विशेषाकाङ्क्षायां लिङ्गकल्पश्रुतिं विना तद्विशेषासमर्पणेन
तन्निवृत्त्ययोगात् । एवं वाक्यादिष्वपि श्रुतिकल्पनं बोध्यम् ।

उक्तं च—

“विनियोक्ता श्रुतिस्तावत्सर्वेष्वेतेषु सम्मता ।

धीस्तस्याः सन्निकर्षेण विप्रकर्षेण च स्थिता^१” ॥

वाक्यमपि लिङ्गादुर्बलं, असमर्थस्य विनियोगायोगेन लिङ्ग-
कल्पनात् ।

उक्तं च—

“वाचकेनैकवाक्यत्वादिहातद्वाचिनां सताम् ।

कल्पयित्वाभिधाशक्तिश्रुतिः पश्चात्प्रकल्प्यते^२” ॥

प्रकरणमपि वाक्यादुर्बलम् । प्रकरणस्योभयाकाङ्क्षालक्षण-
स्यैकवाक्यताकल्पकत्वात् ।

उक्तं च—

“प्रत्यक्षा सङ्गतिर्वाक्ये न तु प्रकरणेऽस्यसौ ।

आकाङ्क्षतोऽनुमातव्या तावता विप्रकृष्टता^३” ॥

१ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ८४५ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ८४८ ।

३ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ८५० ।

क्रमोऽपि प्रकरणादुर्बलः । क्रमो नाम निराकाङ्क्षाणां सतां पाठानुष्ठानदेशसाम्यमात्रम् । साकाङ्क्षत्वे हि प्रकरणमेव स्यात् । तथा चैकाकाङ्क्षाया अपराकाङ्क्षाकल्पनात्मकस्य दुर्बलत्वम् ।

समाख्यापि क्रमादुर्बला । क्रमे हि वेदकल्पितमेवाङ्गाङ्गिनो-
र्देशसामान्यं सन्निधिनिमित्तम् । समाख्यायां तु न सन्निधिवीज-
मस्ति । तस्मात्समाख्या दुर्बला ।

उक्तं च—

“एकद्वित्रिचतुःपञ्चवस्त्रन्तरणकारितम् ।

श्रुत्यर्थं प्रति वैषम्यं लिङ्गादीनामपौष्यते^१” ॥

तस्मात्—

“बाधिकैव श्रुतिर्नित्यं समाख्या बाध्यते सदा ।

मध्यमानां तु बाध्यत्वं बाधकत्वमपेक्षया^२” ॥

तत्रैकैकस्य पञ्चभिः सह विचारो यद्यपि कर्तुमुचितः तथापि बाधितबाध्यस्य स्वबाधकबाधेन बाधः सुबोध इति तमुपेक्ष्यैकेनैव सह विचार्यते ।

अत्रोदाहरणानि—

श्रुतिलिङ्गयोर्विरोधे—‘ऐन्द्रा गार्हपत्यमुपतिष्ठत’ इत्यत्र गार्हपत्यमिति द्वितीयाश्रुत्या गार्हपत्यं प्रत्येन्द्राः शेषत्वमभिहिते इन्द्राभिधानसामर्थ्यरूपलिङ्गस्य श्रुत्यननुमापकत्वात् बाधः ।

लिङ्गवाक्यविरोधे—‘स्योनन्ते सदनं ह्यणोमि घृतस्य धारया सुशेवं कल्पयामि’, ‘तस्मिन् सौदामृते प्रतितिष्ठ’, ‘ब्रीह्रीणां मेध सुमनस्यमान’ इत्यत्र हि कल्पयाम्यतो मन्त्रो लिङ्गेनोपस्तारणे

^१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ८४८ ।

^२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ८७७ ।

उत्तरस्तु सादने विनियुक्तः । तस्मिन्नित्यस्य पूर्वसापेक्षत्वादेकवाक्यता प्रतीत्या समस्तस्यैवोभयत्र विनियोगः प्रतिभासमानोऽपि बाध्यते ।

वाक्यप्रकरणविरोधस्तु— दर्शपूर्णमासप्रकरणपठिते इदं द्यावापृथिवी भद्रमभूदित्यादौ सूक्तवाकनिगदे तत्र हि ‘अग्नीषोमा-विदं हविरजुषेतामवीवृधेतां महोज्यायोक्राताम्’ । ‘इन्द्राग्नी इदं हविरजुषेतामवीवृधेतामि’ति पद्यते । तत्राग्नीषोमपदस्य च पौर्ण-मास्याममावास्यायां च प्रयोगः सिद्धः । अवोवृधेतामित्यादिस्तु यावत्कालः समान्नातस्तावत्कालः पौर्णमास्यामामावास्यायां च प्र-करणेन प्रयोक्तव्यः प्रतिभाति । अग्नीषोमादिपदैकवाक्यतावशेन तु व्यवस्थितैकैकस्य शेषस्य पौर्णमास्याद्यङ्गत्वम् ।

क्रमप्रकरणविरोधस्तु—शौनःशेषाख्यानादिषु क्रमादभि-षेचनीयाङ्गत्वेन भासमानेषु प्रकरणाद्राजसूयाङ्गत्वेन सिद्धेषु द्रष्टव्यः ।

क्रमसमाख्याविरोधोऽपि—पौरोडाशिकसमाख्यायाः पुरो-डाशपात्रशुन्धनार्थत्वेन भासमाने क्रमात् साक्रियाङ्गता ।

“तथा धात्वर्थकर्मत्वे पदश्रुत्योपदर्शिते^१ ।

भावनाया विधिश्रुत्या पुरुषार्थांशसाध्यता^२” ॥ इति

तत्राकाङ्क्षादिनिरपेक्षबोधकः शब्दः श्रुतिः । सा च क्रिया विधात्री विनियोक्त्री अभिधात्री च । आद्या लिङ्लोट्त्वादिः । द्वितीया तु पदश्रुतिः कारकविभक्तिः षष्ठी च । तृतीया त्वितरा । लिङ्गं सामर्थ्यम् । वाक्यं तु लक्षितम् । प्रकरणमुभयाकाङ्क्षा । स्थानं सादेश्यम् । समाख्या यौगिकः शब्दः ॥

१ ‘उपदर्शिते’ इत्यत्र ‘उपपादिते’ इति तन्त्रवार्तिकपाठः ।

२ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ८६१ । चतुर्थचरणे ‘पुरुषार्थस्य साध्यता’ इति तन्त्र-वार्तिकपाठः ।

८ द्वादशोपसत्ताया अहीनाङ्गताधिकरणम् ।

अहीनो वा प्रकरणान्नौणः ॥ १५ ॥

“एवं विरोधे श्रुत्यादेर्बलाबलमुदीरितम् ।

अतः परं विरोधः क क नास्तीति विचार्यते^१” ॥

तत्र प्रथमं प्रकरणस्य श्रुत्यादिभिः सह चिन्ता । ज्योतिष्टोम-
प्रकरणे ‘तिष्ठ एव साङ्गस्थोपसदो द्वादशाहीनस्ये’ति श्रुतम् ।

तत्र साङ्गशब्देन सहाङ्गा समाप्यमानत्वाज्ज्योतिष्टोमोऽभिधीयत
इति श्रुपसत्वं च तदङ्गमिति स्थितम् । द्वादशोपसत्वं तु किं
तस्यैवाङ्गमुत द्वादशाह्रादेरहर्गणस्येति संग्रहः ।

तत्र प्रकरणान्तस्यैवेति प्राप्तम् । स एव चाहीनः न हीयत
इति व्युत्पत्त्या । सर्वेऽपि हि क्रतवस्तं प्रकृतित्वेनापेक्षमाणा न
जहति । एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“साङ्गादर्थान्तरं तावदहीन इति गम्यते ।

रूढिश्चेयं द्विरात्रादौ सा च योगाद्वलीयसी ॥

तत्रापि यौगिकत्वं चेन्न सत्रेष्वप्रयोगतः ।

मथोदात्तं पदं चेदमतः खप्रत्ययान्तता^२” ॥

“किञ्च नञ्समासे हि सत्यव्ययपूर्वपदप्रकृतिसंख्येन आद्यु-
दात्तत्वं स्यात् । तस्मादहीनश्रुतेरहर्गणवचनत्वात् तद्विषयमेव द्वादशो-
पसत्त्वं षष्ठीश्रुत्या गम्यते । तत्तु पृथग्विधीयते वाक्यान्तरप्राप्तं सत्
श्रुपसत्त्वस्तुत्यर्थमनूद्यते वेत्यन्यदेतत् । सर्वथा तावत् द्वादशाहीनस्ये-
त्येतदहर्गणविषयमिति सिद्धम्^३” ।

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २४९ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २५० ।

३ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २५० ।

आह च—

“द्वादशत्वमहीनेन षष्ठीश्रुत्यैव सङ्गतम् ।

अहीनोऽहःसमूहश्च ज्योतिष्टोमे हि साङ्गता^१” ॥

६ कुलायादौ प्रतिपदोरुत्कर्षाधिकरणम् ।

द्वित्वबहुत्वयुक्तं वा चोदनात्तस्य ॥ १७ ॥

ज्योतिष्टोमे श्रूयते—‘युवं हि स्थः स्पर्पतौ’ इति द्वयोर्यजमानयोः प्रतिपदं कुर्यात् । ‘एते असृष्टमिन्दव’ इति बह्वभ्यो यजमानेभ्य इति ।

तत्र किमेते प्रतिपदौ ज्योतिष्टोमस्य उत द्विवज्रयजमानकेषु कुलायाहीनादिषूत्कष्टये इति संशयः ।

तत्र यद्यपि ‘वसन्ते वसन्ते ज्योतिषा यजेते’त्याख्यातोपात्तं गुणभूतोपादेयकर्तृगतं एकत्वं विवक्षितं तथापि नित्येऽशक्तिवृत्ताङ्ग-
त्यागाभ्युपगमात् यदा एको न शक्नुयात्तदा अङ्गान्तरवदेकत्व-
स्यापि हेयतया द्वौ बहवो वा यजेरन् तदा अपणेन प्रकृतावेव प्रति-
पदिधानमुपपन्नमिति नोत्कर्ष इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

उपादेयाङ्गविषयो हि यथाशक्तिन्यायः । एकत्वं त्वनुपादेयम् ।
अत एको यथा शक्नुयादित्युपबन्धात् अङ्गान्तरं दक्षिणापरि-
माणदिकं परित्यज्यायेक एव प्रवर्त्तत इति प्रकृतौ द्वित्वबहुत्वयो-
रभावात् षष्ठीश्रुत्या तत् संयुक्तयोः प्रतिपदोस्तद्वत्सु कुलायादिषूत्कर्षः ।
न च पत्यभिप्रायं द्वित्वबहुत्वं युक्तं, यजमानशब्देन पुंस एवाभि-
धानात् । बह्वभ्य इति विरूपैकशेषस्य जघन्यत्वात् । ‘उपास्मै
गायता नर’ इति प्रतिपदोः निरवकाशत्वप्रसङ्गाच्च ।

१० जाघन्या अनुत्कर्षाधिकरणम् ।

जाघनी चैकदेशत्वात् ॥ २० ॥

“दर्शपूर्णमासयोः पत्नीसंयाजान् प्रकृत्य श्रूयते ‘जाघन्याः पत्नीः संयाजयन्ती’ति ।

तत्किं पश्चावुत्कृत्यते न वेति सन्देहः ।

तत्रारादुपकारकात् सामवायिकस्य गरीयस्त्वात् जाघनीशब्दस्य चोत्तरार्धादिशब्दवदेकदेशवचनत्वादेकदेशद्रव्याणाञ्च विद्यमानैकदेशिसंयोगात् यत्र परप्रयुक्तपश्वनुनिष्पन्ना जाघनी विद्यते तत्र तत्संस्कारत्वेन पत्नीसंयाजविधानमिति ज्ञात्ते^१” ब्रूमः—

“जाघनी हि गुणत्वेन तृतीयोक्त्याऽवगम्यते ।

पत्नीसंयाजयागाश्च द्रव्यापेक्षाव्यवस्थिताः ॥

तेन तेषां गुणत्वेन जाघन्यत्र विधीयते ।

न च सापेक्षवृत्तित्वमुत्तरार्धादिशब्दवत्^२” ॥

“जाघनीशब्दो हि हृदयादिशब्दवत् अवयवनिष्ठजातिवचनः । सा चान्तरेणापि पशूपादानं परप्रयुक्तपशूपजीवनं वा शक्योपादातुम् । न चेयमवश्यं क्वागादेव ग्रहीतव्या । तस्माद्दर्शपूर्णमासिकपत्नीसंयाजाङ्गभूतेनैवाज्येन सह विकल्पते जाघनी^३” ॥

११ संतर्दनस्य संस्थानिवेशाधिकरणम् ।

सन्तर्दनं प्रकृतौ क्रयणवदनर्थलोपात् स्यात् ॥ २४ ॥

ज्योतिष्टोमेऽधिषवणफलके प्रकृत्य ‘न सन्तृणन्ति असन्तृष्टे हि हनू’ इत्यसन्तर्दनं विधाय पुनः श्रुतं ‘दीर्घसोमे संतृष्टेत् धृत्या’ इति ।

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २५२ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २५२ ।

३ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ८६१ ।

तत्र किं सन्तर्दनं प्रकृतावेव अथ वोक्तव्यते । यदाप्युत्कर्षस्तदापि किं द्विरात्रादिव्वेव आहोस्वित् संस्थान्तरेषु द्विरात्रादिषु चाविशेषेण अग्निष्टोमाधिकमात्रे इति सन्देहः ।

तत्र प्रकृतेरपीष्टिपशुबन्धाद्यपेक्षया दीर्घत्वात्तत्रैव निवेशः । यद्यप्यसन्तर्दनं तत्र विहितं तथापि विकल्पः क्रयवत् ।

ननु क्रयाणां समुच्चय इत्युपरिष्ठात् स्थास्यति । सत्यं, पूर्वपक्षेण दृष्टान्तोऽयम् । तदुक्तमाचार्यैः^१—“ न चावश्यं सिद्धान्त एव सर्वत्र दृष्टान्तो भवति । यस्य कस्य चित् निदर्शनस्य प्रतिपत्तिकारणत्व-सिद्धेः^२” इति तस्मात् प्रकृतौ निवेश इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

दृष्टाद्यपेक्षया दीर्घत्वस्याव्यभिचारेणाविशेषणत्वात् सोमान्तरा-पेक्षमेव दीर्घत्वं न च प्रकृते तदस्तीत्युत्कर्षः । न च दीर्घस्य यजमानस्य सोम इति विग्रहमाश्रित्य प्रकृतावेव निवेशः । कर्म-धारयस्य बलीयस्त्वात् धृत्या इत्यर्थवादानुपपत्तेश्च । न हि यजमानदैर्घ्यात् धारणे कश्चिद्विशेषः । तस्मात् कर्मापेक्षमेव दीर्घत्व-मित्युत्कर्षः स्थितः । स च द्विरात्रादिव्वेव न तु संस्थासु । तत्रापि चोदकप्राप्तस्य दशमुष्टेस्तावत् एवाभिषवात् धृत्या इति वाक्यशेषा-नुपपत्तेः । तस्मात् द्विरात्रादिव्वेवोत्कर्ष इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

सत्यमुत्कर्षो न तु द्विरात्रादिव्वेव । न च चोदकप्राप्तपरिमाण-विरोधः । दीर्घपर्वसोमग्रहणेन दशमुष्टिर्त्रिपर्वपरिमाणयोरविरोधात् । न च प्रकरणात्संस्थास्त्वेति वाच्यम् । संस्थानां प्रकरणाभावात् ॥

^१ कुमारिलभट्टाचार्यैः ।

^२ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ८२९ ।

१२ प्रवर्ग्यनिषेधाधिकरणम् ।

संख्यायुक्तं क्रतोः प्रकरणात् स्यात् ॥ ३२ ॥

ज्योतिष्टोमे 'पुरस्तादुपसदां प्रवर्ग्यं प्रवृणक्तौ'ति प्रवर्ग्यं प्रकृत्य श्रूयते
'न प्रथमयज्ञं प्रवृज्यादि'ति ।

तत्र किमयं प्रतिषेधो ज्योतिष्टोमस्याङ्गं उत प्रथमप्रयोगस्थेति
संशयः ।

तत्र यज्ञशब्दस्य यागवचनत्वात् प्राथम्यस्य च तद्विशेषणत्वात्
प्रकरणात् ज्योतिष्टोमनामेदम् । तस्माद्वाक्यात्प्रकरणाच्चायं क्रतो-
रङ्गमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

प्रयोगाङ्गमिति प्रथमशब्देन ह्याद्यं प्रवर्त्तनमुच्यते न तु क्रतुः ।
स तु प्रयोगविषयत्वात्तत्त्वणया गम्येत । न च सिद्धान्ते यज्ञशब्दस्य
प्रयोगे लक्षणा स्यादेवेति वाच्यम् । मुख्यप्रथमशब्दानुरोधेन
जघन्ये यज्ञशब्दे लक्षणाया न्याय्यत्वात् । तस्मात् प्रयोगाङ्गं, प्रथमे
यज्ञप्रयोगे न प्रवृज्यादिति । अग्निष्टोमे प्रवृणक्तौति वाक्यान्तरं
तत्प्रतिप्रसवार्थम् । तेनाग्निष्टोमप्रथमप्रयोगे विकल्पः । स च व्यव-
स्थितः । अनूचानेन कर्त्तव्यं अन्यैस्तु नेति । तथा च श्रूयते 'कामं
तु योऽनूचानः स्यान्तस्य प्रवृज्या'दिति । अतिरात्रप्रथमाहारे तु
सर्वेषामेवाप्रयोगः प्रतिप्रसवाभावात् । विहितश्चातिरात्रस्यापि पाक्षिकः
प्रथमाहारः । तस्मात् प्रथमं यजमानोऽतिरात्रेण यजेतेति ॥

१३ पौष्णपेषस्य विद्वतौ विनियोगाधिकरणम् ।

पौष्णं पेषणं विद्वतौ प्रतीयेताचोदनात् प्रवृत्तौ ॥ ३४ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोः 'पूषा प्रपिष्टभागोऽदन्तको हि स' इति पेषण-
प्रकरणे पूषाभावाद्यत्र पूषा तत्र वाक्यादुक्तव्यत इति प्राप्तिसूत्रमेतत् ॥

१४ पौष्णपेषणस्य चरावेव निवेशाधिकरणम् ।

तत्सर्वार्थमविशेषात् ॥ ३५ ॥

तत्पेषणं किं पशौ चरौ पुरोडाशे च उत चरावेवेति संशयः ।

अविशेषात्सर्वत्र इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—चरावेवेति । पशौ हि सान्नाय्यविकारतया अत्यन्ताप्राप्तं विधेयं स्यात् । हृदयाद्याकृति-
विनाशश्च(?) पुरोडाशे तु चोदकादेव सिद्धम् । न चैतद्विधिवत्त्वात्
अपणोत्तरकालं पेषणान्तरमस्त्विति वाच्यम् । अप्राप्तपेषणे चरावस्य
चरितार्थत्वात् । तस्माच्चरावेव चोदकप्राप्तं प्रयोजनाभावान्निवर्त्तमानं
पेषणं प्रति प्रसूयत इति लाघवम् । न च पिष्टस्य चरुत्वव्याघातः,
पाकवैशद्येन तदुपपत्तेः । अनवस्थावितान्तरूपप्रको हि चरुरित्युच्यते ।
अत एव पिष्टकचरुरिति व्यवहारः ।

१५ पौष्णपेषणस्यैकदेवत्ये निवेशाधिकरणम् ।

एकस्मिन्नेकसंयोगात् ॥ ३६ ॥

चरावेव पेषणमिति स्थितम् । तत्किमन्यसहितपूषदेवताकेऽपि
भवति उत केवलपूषदेवताक इति संशयः ।

द्विदेवत्येऽपि पेषणमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“देवता निष्कला नैव पेषणस्य प्रयोजिका ।

उपादानं च यागस्य भागशब्देन विद्यते” ॥

भागशब्दो हि अयागलक्षकः । स च द्विदेवत्यो न केवलेन
पूष्णा व्यपदिश्यते । न ह्येन्द्राग्नौ ग्रहपुरोडाशौ आग्नेयेन्द्रपीत-
शब्दाभ्यां व्यपदिश्येते इत्युक्तम् । न च तद्धितसमासानन्तर्गतत्वात्

पूष्णो वैषम्यमिति शङ्क्यम् । तथापि द्विदेवत्ये भागशब्दार्थस्यैव
पूषविशिष्टस्याभावात् तस्मादेकदेवत्य एव पेषणमिति सिद्धम् ।

इति मीमांसाशास्त्रसर्वस्वे तृतीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

संख्यायुक्तं क्रतोः प्रकरणात् स्यात्^१ ।

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

१ निवीतस्यार्थवादत्वाधिकरणम् ।

निवीतमिति मनुष्यधर्मः शब्दस्य तत्प्रधानत्वात् ॥ १ ॥

श्रुत्यादित्रिकस्य प्रकरणेन सह विरोधाविरोधौ प्राग्वदिहापि
चिन्त्येते । दर्शपूर्णमासयोः श्रूयते 'निवीतं मनुष्याणां प्राचीनावीतं
पितृणामुपवीतं देवानामुपव्ययते देवलक्ष्ममेव तत्कुरुत' इति ।

तत्र निवीतं मनुष्याणामित्यस्यार्थवादत्वमौडुम्बराधिकरणेन
सिद्धम् । विधिलं कृत्वा तु चिन्त्यते । तत्र षष्ठीश्रुत्या शुद्धमनुष्यधर्मं
इत्येकः पक्षः । “प्रकरणाविरोधात् क्रतुयुक्तपुरुषधर्मो लोहितोष्णी-
षादिवत् इत्यपरः । प्रकरणात् शुद्धक्रतुधर्मः प्रयाजादिवत् ।
मनुष्यग्रहणन्तु कर्त्तृसम्बन्धानुवाद इत्यन्यः । प्राचीनावीतोपवीता-
वैषम्यात्प्रकरणाविरोधाय च प्रकरणे यन्मनुष्यप्रधानकं कर्मत्वान्वाहार्य-
दानादि तस्य तद्धर्म इत्यपरः । प्राचीनावीतोपवीतयोः स्वतन्त्र-
पितृदेवताप्रधानकर्मविषयत्वात् तदवैषम्यात् निवीतमपि स्वतन्त्रं

यन्मनुष्यप्रधानमातिथ्यादिकर्म तद्धर्म इत्यपरः^१” । उपवीतविधे-
रयमर्थवाद एव । विधेकवाक्यत्वादिति क्त्वा चिन्तोद्घाटनम् ॥

इत आरभ्य “विधिस्तु धारणेऽपूर्वत्वा”^२दित्यन्तान्यधि-
करणानि भाष्येऽदृष्टान्यपि वार्त्तिकानुरोधादुपन्यस्यन्ते ।

२ उपवीतस्य दर्शपूर्णमासाङ्गताधिकरणम् ।

उपवीतं लिङ्गदर्शनात् सर्वधर्मः स्यात् ॥ १० ॥

लिङ्गप्रकरणयोर्विरोधाविरोधविचारोऽयम् । दर्शपूर्णमासयोरुप-
व्ययत इति श्रुतम् ।

तत्र स किमुपवीतं सर्वदेवकर्माङ्गमुत दर्शपूर्णमासाङ्गमिति संशये
‘मृताग्निहोत्रे प्राचीनावीती दोहयेद्यज्ञोपवीती हि देवेभ्यो दोह-
यती’ति सिद्धवद्देवाग्निहोत्रे यज्ञोपवीतानुवादेन लिङ्गेन प्रकरणं
बाधित्वा सर्वार्थत्वमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

प्रकरणात् दर्शपूर्णमासाङ्गं लिङ्गमपि दर्शपूर्णमासस्थैवानुवादः ।
नचैवं देवेभ्य इति बह्ववचनानुपपत्तिः । सान्नाय्यस्य वैकल्पिकेन्द्र-
महेन्द्रदेवत्वत्वात् । अग्निहोत्रे तु अग्निसूर्यप्रजापत्यभिप्रायेण तदुप-
पत्तेरिति चेन्न । प्रकृतिविकृतिदेवताभिप्रायेण तदुपपत्तेः ।

३ उपवीतस्य विधित्वाधिकरणम् ।

विधिर्वा स्यादपूर्वत्वात् ॥ १२ ॥

उपव्ययत इत्युदाहरणम् । ‘नित्योदकी नित्ययज्ञोपवीती’ति
स्थितिप्राप्तत्वादनुवाद इति प्राप्ते विधिरिति सिद्धान्तः ।

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, ५०-२६० ।

२ मौमांसाह्वयम्, २-४-१५ ।

पुरुषार्थतया हि स्रुतितः प्राप्तिः । क्रत्वर्थतया तु विधिरयम् ।
एवं वा स्रुतिप्राप्तस्यायमनुवादः । स्रुतिश्च सर्वकर्मार्यतया प्राप्य-
तीति पूर्वः पक्षः ।

प्रकरणादर्शपूर्णमासाङ्गमिति सिद्धान्तः ।

एवं वा मृताग्निहोत्रे श्रूयते 'यज्ञोपवीती हि देवेभ्यो दोह-
यती'ति ।

किमयं देवाग्निहोत्राङ्गतया यज्ञोपवीतस्य विधिः उत दर्शपूर्ण-
मासादिषु प्राप्तस्य प्राचीनावीतस्तुत्यर्थोऽनुवादः ।

तत्र प्राचीनावीती दोहयतीति अग्निहोत्रस्य मृतावस्थायां
वचनात् यज्ञोपवीती ह्रीत्यादिनापि तस्यैव जीवदवस्थायां उपवीतं
गम्यते । तच्चापूर्वत्वादि(धित्वं कल्पनी ?)यम् । स्थितं तावदपर्य-
वसितम् ॥

४ उपवीतोदगग्रत्वयोरनुवादताधिकरणम् ।

उदकृत्वं चापूर्वत्वात् ॥ १३ ॥

तत्रैव श्रूयते 'ये पुरोदञ्चो दर्भास्तान् दक्षिणायास्तृणौयादि'ति ।

ये पुरोदञ्च इति विधिरुतानुवाद इति संशये वाक्यभेदेन
विधिः । पुरा जीवदवस्थायां ये दर्भास्ते उदञ्चः कार्या इति ।
दक्षिणाग्रानिति तु मृतावस्थाविषयकं वाक्यान्तरमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

विध्यभावाद्विध्यन्तरैकवाक्यत्वाच्चानुवादः । न चापूर्वत्वम् ।
'अग्नवन्त्युदगग्राणी'तिसर्वकर्मविषयिण्या स्रुत्यैवाग्निहोत्रेऽपि तद्व्याप्तेः ।
अत एव यच्छब्दोपबन्धोऽपि । स्थितादुत्तरयज्ञोपवीती हि देवेभ्यो
दोहयतीति हि शब्दोपबन्धात् प्राचीनावीतिविधिविशेषत्वात् अनु-
वादत्वं न चापूर्वत्वम् । दर्शपूर्णमासादिषु प्राप्तात् तस्मान्न रूप-
भङ्गेन विधिकल्पना ॥

५ समिद्धारणस्य विधिताधिकरणम् ।

विधिस्तु धारणेऽपूर्वत्वात् ॥ १५ ॥

मृताग्निहोत्रे श्रूयते ‘अधस्तात् समिधं धारयन्ननुद्रवेदुपरि हि देवेभ्यो धारयती’ति ।

किमयं जीवदग्निहोत्रे विधिरुतानुवाद इति संशये आचार-
प्राप्तस्यानुवादः । सर्वमभ्यर्हितं द्रव्यं प्रच्छाद्यैव देशान्तरं नेयमिति
आचारः । अतोऽग्निहोत्रद्रव्यमपि गार्हपत्यादाहवनीयमानीयमान-
माच्छादयितव्यम् । तत् केनेत्याकाङ्क्षायां नियमादृष्टार्थं समि-
द्धिधानम् । सा चोपरि धार्यमाणैव प्रच्छादनक्षमा न त्वन्यथेति
प्राप्तमुपरि धारणमनूद्यते । इत्येवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

सुगदण्डे इति देशनियमाद्धविषः प्रागसौ धारयितव्या तेनोपरि
धारणमप्राप्तं हविःप्रच्छादकत्वायोगात् । अतो हिशब्दत्यागेन वाक्यं
भित्वा विधिः कल्प्यते ॥

६ दिग्विभागस्यार्थवादताधिकरणम् ।

दिग्विभागश्च तद्वत्संबन्धस्यार्थहेतुत्वात् ॥ १६ ॥

‘प्राचीनवंशं करोती’ति विधाय श्रूयते ‘प्राचीं देवा व्यभजन्त
दक्षिणां पितरः प्रतीचीं मनुष्या’ इत्यादि । तच्च निवीताधि-
करणवत् सर्वे पक्षा रचयितव्याः । अभ्यधिकाशङ्का तु—

“पुरा कल्पस्वरूपेण भजत्यर्थानुषङ्गिणा ।

दिग्विभागस्य सम्बन्धात् निवीतातुल्यतामतिः” ॥

सिद्धान्तस्तु प्राग्वत् ॥

७ परुषि दितादीनामनुवादताधिकरणम् ।

परुषि दितपूर्णघृतविदग्धञ्च तद्वत् ॥ १७ ॥

‘यत्परुषि दितं तद्देवानां यदन्तरा तन्मनुष्याणा’मिति, तथा ‘यत् पूर्णं तन्मनुष्याणा’मिति, तथा ‘घृतं देवानां, मसु पितृणां निष्पक्वं मनुष्याणामि’ति ।

तत्र मनुष्यसंयुक्ता उदाहरणम् । तथा ‘यो विदग्धः स नैर्ऋतः योऽश्रितः स रौद्र’ इति । अत्रापि निवीतवत् सर्वे पक्षा योज्याः ।

अभ्यधिकाशंका तेषां—विधिलेऽपीह न फलं कल्यम् । लौकिकानामेव क्लृप्तफलानां विशेषनियममात्रविधानात् । यद्भलवनं तदान्तरा कर्त्तव्यम् । यावन्मीयते तावत् पूर्णं मातव्यम् । यावच्च स्नेहकार्यं तत्सर्वं विलीनेन नवनीतेन निष्पकायुतशब्दवाच्येन कर्त्तव्यमिति । ततश्च नियमादृष्टमात्रं भविष्यति । नैर्ऋतरौद्रयोश्च विदग्धत्वामृतत्वे कर्त्तव्य इति । प्रसिद्धयोरेव नैर्ऋतरौद्रयोग्यमात्रविधौ लाघवमिति । तामिमां शङ्कां व्यावर्त्तयितुमितिदेशः ॥

८ अमृतवदननिषेधस्य क्रतुधर्मताधिकरणम् ।

अकर्म क्रतुसंयुक्तं संयोगान्नित्यानुवादः स्यात् ॥ १८ ॥

क्रतुप्रकरणगताः प्रतिषेधा उदाहरणम् । दर्शपूर्णमासयोः श्रुतं ‘नानृतं वदेदि’ति ।

किमयं पुरुषार्थ उत क्रत्वर्थ इति सन्देहः ।

सर्वत्र च यो यदर्थप्रवृत्तः सन् निवार्यते स तदर्थमेव प्रतिषिद्धो भवतीति प्रवृत्तिकैमर्थक्यं चिन्तनीयम् । तदप्यभिधायकाख्यातवशेन निर्णयमित्याख्यातशब्दाश्चिन्त्याः । किमर्थाः प्रवृत्तीरुपाददत इति । तदर्थमपि किमाख्यातं कर्त्तृवाचकं न वेति ।

तत्र—

“प्रतीतेः स्मरणात् कर्त्तृविशेषैरपृथक् श्रुतेः ।

कर्त्तृवाचिलभाख्यातप्रत्ययस्यावसीयते^१” ॥

वदेदिति ह्याख्यातात् कर्त्ता प्रतीयते । ‘कर्त्तरि क्त्वि’ति चाधिकृत्य ‘लः कर्मणि चे’ति चकारेण कर्त्तृवाचिलं स्मर्यते । पचति देवदत्त इति च कर्त्तृविशेषवाचकैः सामानाधिकरणं दृश्यते । तस्मात् प्रकृत्यर्थभूतं वदनं प्रत्ययवाच्यपुरुषार्थमिति प्रतिषेधोऽपि तदर्थ एव न्याय्यः । तदयमर्थः । यत्पुरुषोपकारितया प्रसन्नं वदनं तन्न तथा किन्त्वपकारमेवास्व साधयतीति । तेन श्रुत्या प्रकरणं बाधित्वा पुरुषार्थः प्रतिषेधः । अयमेव च स्मार्त्तस्य प्रतिषेधस्य मूलमिति ।

अत्रोच्यते—

“आख्यातप्रत्ययाः सर्वे क्रियाया अभिधायकाः ।

तत एव प्रतीतस्य न कर्त्तुरभिधेयता^२” ॥

न च व्याकरणस्यतिविरोधः । ++ कयोरिति संख्याशास्त्रेण सहैकवाक्यापन्नस्य ‘लः कर्मणी’त्यस्य कर्त्तुरेकत्वेऽभिधे लकारैक-
वचनं तिबादिप्रयोक्तव्यमित्यर्थपर्यवसानेन संख्यावाचिलपर्यवसायि-
त्वात् । “यदि हि शास्त्रैकदेशालोचनमात्रेण विरोध उद्भास्यते तर्हि
यावज्जीववाक्यमात्रापेक्षयाऽदौचितादिरप्यजुक्लन् प्रत्यवेयात् ।

आह च—

अन्य एवैकदेशेन शास्त्रस्यार्थः प्रतीयते ।

अन्यस्य परिपूर्णं समस्ताङ्गोपसंहृतौ ॥

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २६५ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २६७ ।

विशेषेण च व्याकरणे । तत्र ह्येकैकस्मिन् पदे प्रायेणाष्टाध्यायी व्याप्रियते^१ ।

नन्वेवं देवदत्तेन पच्यत इत्यत्रेव देवदत्तः पचतीत्यत्रापि तिङ्-कर्तुरनभिधानात् अनभिहिताधिकारविहिता तृतीया स्यात् । न च संख्यायामनभिहितायामिति तदर्थः । देवदत्तः पाठक इत्यत्रापि तदापत्तेः । ××× लासंख्यानभिधानादिति चेत् । न ।

अनभिहितत्वं हि अबोधितत्वम् । बोधश्च शक्त्या लक्षणया वेत्यन्यदेतत् । यद्वा वृद्धिगुणशब्दौ लोकवेदयोरद्वैजदेडं वाचकत्वेन यद्यपि न दृष्टौ ; अथापि वैयाकरणैः स्वशास्त्रपरिभाषितौ । यथा वा असन्नेव लकार उत्प्रेक्षितस्तथापि कर्तृकर्माभिधायित्वमपि तेषां पारिभाषिकमस्तु । यत्र तु न्यायानुगतिस्तत्र लोकवेदयोरपि तदुक्तार्थपरिग्रहः । न चैतावता सृतेरप्रामाण्यम् । अर्थवादवत्ता-त्यर्थविषये प्रामाण्यात् । न चैवं कर्तुरेव वाच्यत्वे सामानाधिकरण्यानुपपत्तिः । शुक्ता गौरिति वत् लक्षणया तदुपपत्तेः । तस्मात् औतत्वाभावान्न प्रकरणं बाध्यते । न चैवं दर्शपूर्णमास-विधिर्नैव विहितत्वादङ्गे विधिरनर्थकः स्यादिति वाच्यम् । तदभावधात्वर्थस्यैव भाव्यतापत्तौ दर्शपूर्णमासकथंभावेन ग्रहणानुपपत्तेः । तस्मादाकाङ्क्षोच्छापकत्वेनाङ्गविधिरर्थवान् । आह च—

“यावन्न विधिसंस्पर्शस्तावन्नास्य प्रयोजनम् ।

विना च तेन धात्वर्थो न कलङ्गं प्रतीयते^२” ॥

“अतश्च वदेदित्यनेनैवमवगतं ‘दर्शपूर्णमासोपकारं वदनेन साधये’दिति । अनृतपदबलाच्च (एवं भवति) ‘यद्वदनेन कुर्या-

^१ तन्त्रवार्तिक, प्र० ९५३-९५४ ।

^२ तन्त्रवार्तिक, प्र० ९७८ ।

तदनृतेने'ति । पुनश्च नञा सम्बन्धात् यदनृतवदनेनोपकुर्यात् तच्चेति । ततश्च यावान् कर्मार्थो वादस्तत्रानृतं वर्जनैयम् । तेन यवमयः पुरोडाशः कर्त्तव्य इत्येवं आदावध्वर्युसुक्ता अन्ते ब्रौहिमय एव क्रियतामिति न विसम्बद्धित्वम्^१ ॥

स्मार्त्तस्य प्रतिषेधः पुरुषार्थः स्वतन्त्र एव । न त्वेतन्मूलकः । न च तेनैव पुरुषस्य सर्वदा अनृते व्यावर्त्तिते किमनेनेति वाच्यम् । शुद्धपुरुषधर्मातिक्रमो रङ्गमिष्टः प्रकरणाश्रयात् इति ॥

६ जंजभ्यमानधर्माणां प्रकरणे निवेशाधिकरणम् ।

अहीनवत् पुरुषधर्मस्तदर्थत्वात् ॥ २० ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोः श्रूयते 'जंजभ्यमानो ब्रूयात् मयि दक्षक्रतु' इति ।

तत्र किमिदं मन्त्रवचनं शुद्धपुरुषधर्म उत क्रतुयुक्तपुरुषसंस्कारः क्रतोरेवाङ्गमिति संशयः ।

तत्र—

“जंजभ्यमानधर्मोऽयं वाक्यात् प्रकरणेन तु ।

क्रत्वङ्गं दुर्बलं तच्च तेनास्य पुरुषार्थता^२ ॥

न चैवं फलकल्पना दोषाय । वाक्यावगतपुरुषार्थत्वबलेन फलाकाङ्क्षायां सत्यां 'प्राणापानावेवात्मन्धत्ते' इति वाक्यशेषेण रात्रिसचवत् फललाभात् । “कर्त्तरि कृदिति अनन्यपरस्मरणा”-दित्याचार्याः^३ । यद्यपि ज्ञानचप्रत्ययेनेदं स्मरणमुपन्यासाहं लादि-मात्रविषयत्वात् । अन्यथा क्रियमाणो घट इत्यादौ कर्मणि ज्ञानच प्रत्ययो न स्यात् । तदुक्तम्—कृद्वाक्यशेषोयमनिर्दिष्टार्थेषु × ×

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ८७८ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २६८ ।

३ कुमारिलभट्टाचार्यास्तन्त्रवार्त्तिके, पृ० ८८१-८८३ ।

× लादिषूपतिष्ठते । न तु लेष्टनिर्ज्ञातार्थेऽस्त्विति (?) । तथापि लः कर्मणीत्यनेनैवात्र कर्तृवाचकत्वं बोद्धव्यम् । न हि तिबादिष्विव ज्ञानजिव धावपि (?) द्विकथोरित्यादिनैकवाक्यतास्ति येन संख्या-मात्रं वाच्यं भवेत् । सुप्तिङामेवैकवचनादिसंज्ञाविधानात् ।

एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—सत्यं वाक्यं प्रबलं किन्तु विरोधो न चेह सः क्रतावपि जंजभ्यमानपुरुषसत्वात् । तस्मात्तत्संस्कारमुखेनैव क्रत्वर्थत्वम् । तथा च फलमपि न कल्प्यमिति ॥

१० अवगोरणादीनां पुमर्थताधिकरणम् ।

शंयौ च सर्वपरिदानात् ॥ २३ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोः श्रूयते 'यो ब्राह्मणायावगुरेदि'ति ।

किमयं प्रतिषेधः क्रत्वर्थः पुरुषार्थो वेति संशयः ।

“तत्र—

फलाभावात् क्रतोश्चापि प्रकृतत्वात्तदर्थता ।

कृत्वात्तु फलस्यायं पुरुषार्थो न तु क्रतोः^१ ॥

यातयादिति हि साध्यतया यातना गम्यते न तु पूर्वाधि-करणस्यप्राणधारणवद्वर्त्तमानतया । निषिद्धफलं च प्रदर्शनमात्रेणैव सम्बध्यते न तु विधिफलवत् कामपदोपबन्धमपेक्षते । न हि कश्चित्पापफलं कामयते । तस्मात् फलवत्वात् पुरुषार्थः न क्रत्वर्थः ।

११ मलवद्वासःसंवादनिषेधाधिकरणम् ।

प्रागपरोधान्मलवद्वाससः ॥ २४ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोः श्रूयते 'मलवद्वाससा न सम्बदेदि'ति ।

किमयं प्रतिषेधः क्रत्वर्थः पुरुषार्थो वेति संशयः ।

प्रकरणात् क्लृप्त्यर्थे प्राप्ते ब्रूमः— तामपरुष्य यजेतेति वचनात् सर्वस्मात् क्रतुव्यापारात् निवृत्ता रजस्वला । तेनानया सह सम्वादस्य क्रतावप्रसक्तत्वात् प्रतिषेधानुपपत्तिः । पुरुषस्य हि स्वातन्त्र्येण प्रवर्त्तमानस्य रजस्वलयया प्रसज्यते सम्वाद इति स एव प्रतिषिध्यते । तस्मात् पुरुषार्थता ।

१२ सुवर्णधारणादीनां पुरुषधर्मताधिकरणम् ।

अप्रकरणे तु तद्धर्मस्ततो विशेषात् ॥ २६ ॥

अनारभ्य श्रूयते ‘तस्मात् सुवर्णं हिरण्यं भार्यं दुर्वर्णोऽस्य भ्रातृव्यो भवती’ति ।

तत्र संग्रहः—किं हिरण्यधारणमिदं क्लृप्ततया विधीयते उत क्रतुगतहिरण्यानुवादेन धारणसंस्कारो विधीयते । अथ वा हिरण्यं हस्ते भवतीति विहितधारणानुवादेन सुवर्णत्वं शोभनरूपता विधीयते यद्विरण्यं भार्यं तत्सुवर्णमिति उत हिरण्यधारणं पुरुषार्थतया विधीयत इति ।

तत्र—

“पुरुषार्थत्वपक्षे हि फलं कल्प्यमतः क्रतोः ।

अङ्गं स्यादैदिकत्वेन क्रियात्वेन च साम्यतः^१ ॥

“अथ वा धारणस्य स्वभावत एव धार्यमाणसंस्कारत्वात् कृत्यश्रुत्या च हिरण्यस्य प्राधान्यावगमान्निष्प्रयोजनस्य च लौकिकस्य संस्कारायोगात् क्रतुगतहिरण्यानुवादेन धारणसंस्कारविधिः । अथ वा लाघवाद्धारणमप्यनूद्य सुवर्णतामात्रं विधीयते । चेधापि^२” क्लृप्त्यर्थेति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ. २७१ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ. २७१ ।

“ न क्रतुस्तद्धिरण्यं वा नियमेनात्र^१ गम्यते ।

तस्मान्न क्रतुशेषत्वं विधेस्तु पुरुषार्थता^२ ” ॥

सर्वो ह्यनारभ्यवादो वाक्यसंयोगेनाङ्गं विधत्ते लिङ्गेन वा ।
न चेहोभयमप्यस्ति । न च हिरण्यधारणं लिङ्गम् । जुह्वादिवद-
व्यभिचरितक्रतुसम्बन्धाभावात् । लोकेऽपि हिरण्यसङ्गावात् । न हि
द्रव्यार्जनं क्रत्वर्थं किन्तु पुरुषार्थमिति चतुर्थं वक्ष्यामः ।

यत्तु संस्कार्यत्वात् क्रतुगतहिरण्यप्रतीतिरिति तन्न । क्रतुगत-
हिरण्यानुवादनिस्यये संस्कार्यत्वनिश्चयः । तन्निश्चये च निघ्नयोजनस्य
संस्कार्यत्वायोगात् क्रतुगतहिरण्यप्रतीतिरिति अन्योन्याश्रयात् । न
च स्वभावतः संस्कार्यत्वमदृष्टार्थत्वेऽपि धारणाविरोधात् । कृत्य-
प्रत्ययस्तु साध्यतामात्रमाह न तु शेषित्वम् । अतो न क्रत्वर्थं किन्तु
पुरुषार्थम् । फलं तु रात्रिसत्रन्यायेन भ्रातृव्यस्य दुर्वर्णत्वम् ॥

१३ जयादीनां वैदिककर्माङ्गताधिकरणम् ।

शेषोऽप्रकरणे^३ऽविशेषात् सर्वकर्मणाम् ॥ ३१ ॥

अनारभ्य श्रुतम्, ‘येन कर्मणा ईर्ष्यत् तत्र जयान् जुहुयात्’
इति ।

किं सर्वेषां लौकिकवैदिककर्मणां जयादयोऽङ्गं उत वैदिकाना-
मेवाह्वनीयवतां इति संशयः ।

तत्रापि शेषात् ऋषिराजसेवादीनामपि जयादयोऽङ्गम् । तैरपि
ह्यर्धितुमिच्छति । यद्यपि कृत्यादीनामाह्वनीयो नास्ति तथापि
जयाद्यनुरोधादाह्वनीयोपि सम्पादनीयः ।

१ ‘नियमेनात्र’ इत्यत्र ‘धारणं वाच’ शास्त्रद्वैपिकसम्मतः पाठः ।

२ शास्त्रद्वैपिका, पृ० २७२ ।

३ अत्र तन्त्रवार्तिके ‘शेषः प्रकरणे’ इत्यादि पाठः ।

एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“समानदेशता नित्यमिष्यतेऽङ्गप्रधानयोः ।

न च ह्यथादिभिः साकमेषां स्यात्तुल्यदेशता^१” ॥

कर्षणं हि भूमौ क्रियते राजकूले (च) सेवा । जयादयस्त्वाहवनीये कर्त्तव्याः । तेन वैदेश्याद्वैगुण्यं स्यात् ।

ननु चेचमेवाहवनीयं मौला होव्यते इति चेन्न । एवमपि विलेखनहोमयोर्देशभेदापरिहारात् । न ह्येकैकस्मिन् विदारणस्थले आहवनीयं निश्चिप्य होतुं शक्यते । वैदिकेषु त्वाहवनीयादिमत्सु प्रधानसादेश्यं लभ्यत इत्यवैगुण्यात्तत्रैव जयादयः ।

१४ वैदिकाश्चप्रतिग्रह इष्टिकर्त्तव्यताधिकरणम् ।

दोषात्विष्टिलौकिके स्यात् शास्त्राद्वि वैदिके न दोषः स्यात् ॥ ३४ ॥

तैत्तिरीयाः काम्येष्टिकाण्डे समामनन्ति—‘यावतोऽश्वान् प्रति-
गृह्णीयात्तावतो वारुणांश्चतुष्कपालान्निर्वपेदि’ति । सेयं दातु-
रिष्टिर्न तु प्रतिग्रहीतुरिति वक्ष्यते ।

सा किं लौकिके अश्वदाने मित्रादिभ्यः स्नेहादिना विधिमपेक्ष्य क्रियमाणे निमित्ते पुरुषार्थो विधीयते उत वैदिके कर्माङ्गभूते क्रत्वर्थतया उतोभयत्रेति संशयः ।

तत्राविशेषादुभयत्रेति प्राप्त उच्यते—कर्मणः फलापेक्षायां ‘स एवैनं वरुणपाशान्मुञ्चति’ इति वाक्यशेषात् दोषनिर्घातः फलं निर्णीयते । तेन यत्र दोषस्तत्रेष्टिः । लौकिके च दोषोऽस्ति । ‘न केसरिणो ददाती’ति निषेधात् । वैदिकेषु कर्माङ्गदाने विधि-

सृष्टत्वान्नास्ति दोषः । तस्मात् कार्यवशात् लौकिके दृष्टिरिति । भवेदेवं यदि दोषनिर्घातफलकता स्यात् । इह तु वरुणग्रहनिर्माक एव फलत्वेऽवगम्यते । वरुणपाशान्मुञ्चतीति वरुणग्रहो जलोदर-पर्यायः । न च लौकिकमश्वदानं जलोदरनिदानमित्यत्र मानमस्ति । प्रतिषेधेन पापमात्रकल्पनात् । अथ दृणोतीति व्युत्पत्त्या वरुणशब्दः पापमेव वदेत् । तर्हि वैदिकेऽपि त्यागप्रयुक्तदुःखस्यैव वरुण-शब्दार्थत्वं सम्भवति । इच्छाडम्बरविनोदेन तद्दुःखशमनात् ‘स एव एनं वरुणपाशान्मुञ्चतीत्ययुपपद्यते । तस्मान्न लौकिकविषयता । नायुभयत्र । नैमित्तिकस्य वैदिकत्वेन तस्मादृश्याद्वैदिकमेव दानं शीघ्रमुपतिष्ठते । तेन तत्सम्बन्धिकृतपस्थानात् तादर्थ्यावगमे ताव-न्मात्रेण च नैराकाङ्क्षे सति लौकिकस्य ग्रहे फलकल्पनायां च प्रमाणाभावात् ।

किञ्च—

“लौकिके पुरुषार्थत्वं वैदिके क्रतुशेषता ।

न चैकस्योभयार्थत्वं वैरूप्यादुपपद्यते” ॥

तस्माद्वैदिक एव स्यात् ॥

१५ दातुर्वारुणीष्ट्यधिकरणम् ।

अचोदितं च कर्मभेदात् ॥ ३६ ॥

इयमेवेष्टिरुदाहरणं किमियं प्रतिग्रहीतुस्त दातुरिति सन्देहः ।

तत्र विध्युद्देशवलीयस्त्वात् प्रतिग्रहीतुरिति प्राप्तम् ।

अर्थवादस्तु प्रधानानुरोधेन व्याख्येयः । दातुरपि किल दोषः किं पुनः प्रतिग्रहीतुरिति ।

सिद्धान्तसु—

“असंजातविरोधित्वात् अर्थवादो यथा श्रुतः ।

आख्येयन्तद्विरुद्धस्य^१ विध्यदेशस्य लक्षणा^२” ॥

प्रतिगृह्णीयादिति प्रतिग्रहकर्त्तव्यते । अस्ति हि दातुरपि प्रयोजककर्त्तृत्वम् । एवञ्चार्थवादोऽपि संगच्छते । तत्र हि प्रजापतिर्वरुणायाश्चमनयदिति प्रजापतिर्दाता संकीर्तितः । स स्वां देवतामाच्छत् । सः समानविभक्तिनिर्दिष्टः प्रजापतिरेव स्वां देवतामिति पूर्ववाक्ये सम्प्रदानतया निर्देशाद्ग्रहणम् । तेन प्रजापतिरश्वं दत्त्वा वरुणग्रहं प्राप्त इत्यर्थः । ‘स पर्यदीर्यत स एतं वारुणं चतुष्कपालमपश्यत् तं निरवपत् ततो वै स वरुणपाशादमुच्यते’ति सर्वत्र प्रजापतिरेव दाताऽनुषज्यते । यद्यपि ‘श्रुतेर्जाताधिकारः स्यादि’त्यत्रैवोपक्रमप्राबल्यं निर्णीतं तथापि च्छगादिशब्दा बहुलं वेदे दृष्टप्रयोगाः । गृह्णातिस्तु दातव्यापारे न कचिद्दृष्टः । तेन नासौ तत्परत्वेन व्याख्यातुं शक्यत इति विशेषाशङ्कानिवृत्त्यर्थमेतदधिकरणम् ।

भाष्यकारान्तरैस्तु प्रतिग्रहीतुरेवेष्टिराश्रिता । तत्तु न्यायविरुद्धम् ॥

१६ वैदिकपानव्यापदधिकरणम् ।

पानव्यापच्च तद्वत् ॥ ३८ ॥

अनारभ्य श्रूयते ‘सौमेन्द्रं चरुं निर्वपेत् यः सोमं वमती’ति ।

अत्रापि पूर्ववत्संग्रहः—किं लौकिके रसायनाद्यर्थं पीते वान्ते पुरुषार्थतया इयमिष्टिरुत वैदिके क्रत्वर्थतया अथ वोभयचेति ।

१ तृतीयचरणे ‘आख्येयस्तद्विरुद्धत्वात्’ इति पाठः शास्त्रदीपिकाकारैर्धृतः ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, ३० १७५ ।

“तत्राविशेषादुभयोर्दोषाद्वा लौकिके भवेत् ।

दोषो ह्यत्रास्ति वमनात् वृद्धिरिन्द्रियवीर्ययोः^१ ॥

विवा एष इन्द्रियेण वीर्येण व्युध्यते इति कीर्त्यमानो दोषो न वरुणग्रहवदत्यन्ताविद्यमानः । तेन तत्संयोगात्लौकिके स्यात् वैदिके तु पानमात्रस्य शास्त्रार्थत्वात् वमनेऽपि दोषाभावात् प्रायश्चित्त-विधिर्व्यर्थः । एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

न तावल्लौकिके दोषोस्ति वमनार्थमेव पानात् । वेदे तु सम्यग्जरणपर्यन्तमेव पानं शास्त्रार्थः । तच्च वमनाद्विपद्यते । अतो दोषवशात् वैदिके स्यात् ।

१७ सौमेन्द्रचरोर्यजमानपानव्यापद्विषयताधि-
करणम् ।

तत्सर्वत्राविशेषात् ॥ ४० ॥

सेयमिष्टिः किं यजमानवमन एव उत ऋत्विग्वमनेऽपीति संशयः ।

अविशेषात् सर्वत्रेति प्राप्त उच्यते—यः सोमं वमति स निर्वपे-
दिति यत् शब्दसंयोगाद्वमनयागयोरेकः कर्त्ता गम्यते तस्मात्
स्वामिकमेव वमनं निमित्तं न तु ऋत्विग्वमनम् ॥

१८ आग्नेयाष्टाकपालचरोर्ध्वदानमात्रस्य होत-
व्यताधिकरणम् ।

सर्वप्रदानं हविषस्तदर्थत्वात् ॥ ४३ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोः श्रूयते—‘आग्नेयोऽष्टाकपाल’ इति । तथा
उपस्तृणाति अभिघारयति द्विर्हविषोऽवद्यति चतुरवत्तं जुहोति इति ।

तत्र किं सकलस्य पुरोडाशस्याहवनीये प्रदानमुत झवदानमात्रं प्रदायान्यच्छेषयितव्यमिति संशयः ।

तत्राष्टाकपालशब्दस्यावयवपरत्वे लक्षणा प्रसङ्गात् श्रुत्या पुरोडाशावयव्येव देवता सम्बन्धी । तस्मात् सकलस्य प्रदानम् । एवञ्चोत्पत्तिशिष्टं झवदानमुपायत्वेन नेयम् । ‘यत् सकलं जुहोति तद्विरवदाये’ति । ततश्चार्थाद्यागस्याभ्यासः । शेषकार्याणि तु खिष्टकृदादीनि हविरन्तरमाचक्षेयन्तीति पूर्वः पक्षः ।

सिद्धान्तस्तु—

“यागः प्रधानमेकेन झवदानेन साधितः ।

द्रव्यमस्तीति कृत्वासौ नाटुत्तिं प्रतिपद्यते^१ ॥

न चेह सोमयागवदभ्यासमन्तरेणानुपपत्तिः । उत्पत्तिशिष्टं यत्पुरोडाशस्याग्नेयत्वं तस्यैतावताप्युपपत्तेः यत्ततो गृहीतं झवदानं अग्नये दीयते । अग्निदेवत्यागसाधनता ह्याग्नेयता साधनत्वं च ब्रीहौणां पुरोडाशद्वारेव प्रणाद्याप्युपपन्नम् । तस्मान्न सर्वप्रदानम् । अतोऽस्ति शेषः । तत्प्रयुक्तत्वाच्च शेषकार्याणि अप्रयोजकानीति भाव्यकाराः ।

आचार्यास्त्वाहुः—साक्षात्साधनत्वसम्भवे प्रणाडीमाश्रित्याग्नेयत्व-समर्थनमयुक्तम् । न च चतुरवत्तं जुहोतीति वाक्यं प्रमाणम् । यच्चतुरवत्तमिति उपस्तरणादिवाक्यप्राप्तं चतुरवत्तं द्वितीयया संस्कार्यत्वेनोद्दिश्य प्रक्षेपाख्यप्रतिपत्तिमात्रस्य तेन विधानेऽपि साधनान्तराविधानात् । तस्मात् पुरोडाश एव यागसाधनम् । न च साप्तदशश्वदाग्नेयत्वं झवदानमात्रे उपसंह्रियत इति वाच्यम् । साप्तदशं हि अनारभ्यवादेन सामिधेनीनामुक्तं न तु क्रतूनाम् ।

तत्र क्रतुसम्बन्धस्तद्वारेणानुमानिकः । न च प्रत्यक्षसम्बन्धे सत्यानु-
मानिकः कल्प इति युक्त उपसंहारः । अष्टाकपालस्य तु तद्धित-
श्रुत्या स्फुटः देवतासम्बन्धः । द्वावदानस्य त्वानुमानिकः ।

आह च—

“ सामान्यविधिरस्यष्टः संह्रियेत विशेषतः ।

स्यष्टस्य तु विधेर्नान्यैरुपसंहारसम्भवः^१ ” ॥

अधिकरणन्तु होमविषयम् । तत्र प्रायेण हविषां होमदर्शना-
द‘ग्निसुखा वै देवा’ इति चार्थवादात् सकलस्य होम इति प्राप्ते
चतुरवत्तं जुहोतीतिवचनान्तावत् एव होमः । सकलस्य तु देवता-
सम्बन्धस्यागमाच्चादेवोपपन्नः । एवञ्च शेषकार्याण्यपि संगच्छन्ते ।

नन्वम्यादिभ्यो दत्तं कथं स्विष्टकृते दीयते त्यक्तस्य पुनः स्वीकारे
शिष्टाचारविरोधादिति चेन्न । प्रत्यक्षश्रुत्या आचारबाधात् ।

१६ सर्वशेषैः स्विष्टकृदनुष्ठानाधिकरणम् ।

अप्रयोजकत्वादेकस्मात् क्रियेरन् शेषस्य गुणभूत-
त्वात् ॥ ४८ ॥

शेषकार्याणि स्विष्टकृदादीनि किमेकस्याद्भुविषः कार्याणि उत
सर्वेभ्य इति विचारः ।

तत्र शेषात् स्विष्टकृत इति शास्त्रार्थस्य सङ्गतकृते कृतत्वात्
एकस्मादेव कार्याणि न सर्वेभ्य इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

भवेदेवं यदि शेषगुणकानि प्रधानकर्माण्येतानि स्युः । न चैवं
किन्तु प्रतिपत्तिरूपाणि । सा च यस्यैव न क्रियते तस्यैव प्रति-

पत्तिनियमलोपात् वैगुण्यं स्यात् सर्वभ्यः । प्रतिपत्तित्वं चैषां चतुर्थं
वक्ष्यते ।

२० प्राथमिकशेषात् स्विष्टकृदनुष्ठानाधिकरणम् ।

एकस्माच्चेद्यायाकाम्यविशेषात् ॥ ५२ ॥

कृत्वा चिन्तेयं यदा एकस्मात् कार्याणि तदा किं यतः
कुतश्चित् उत मुख्यादेव ।

तत्र विशेषाभावादनियमे प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

मुख्यस्य प्राप्तनिमित्तत्वात् शेषे स्थापिते तत एव शेषकार्याणा-
मुपपत्तेर्निमित्तविघातान्नेतरेभ्यः शेषस्थापनम् ॥

२१ पुरोडाशविभागस्य भक्षार्थताधिकरणम् ।

भक्षाश्रवणाद्दानशब्दः परिक्रये ॥ ५४ ॥

आग्नेयं चतुर्धा कृत्वेदं ब्रह्मण इत्यादिभिर्व्यपदेशैश्चत्विग्नः
समर्पयन्ति ।

तत्र किमिदं समर्पणं चत्विजां यथेष्टविनियोगार्थं परिक्रयाद्य
उत द्रव्यपतिपत्त्यर्थं भक्षणायेति संशयः ।

तत्र—

“भक्षस्याश्रवणात्तावत्तादर्थ्यं नावगम्यते ।

कियत्यप्यानतिस्तेन^१ भवतीति तदर्थात्^२” ॥

एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—सकलस्य हविषो देवतायै प्रदत्तत्वात् अनौशनो
यजमानः चत्विग्भिस्तुल्यः स कथं परिक्रीणीत अस्त्रामित्वात् ।

१ ‘तेने’त्यत्र ‘ताव’दिति पाठः शास्त्रदीपिकाकारैर्धृतः ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २८१ ।

तस्मान्न परिक्रयः । शेषस्य प्रतिपत्त्यपेक्षत्वाद्योग्यतया च पुरोडाशस्य
 भक्षणमेव प्रतिपत्तिरिति अवगतत्वात् । कर्तृविशेषमात्रापेक्षायां
 ब्रह्मादयो नियम्यन्ते । तन्नियमस्यापि दृष्टमेव प्रयोजनम् । तेषां
 करिष्यमाणप्रयोगकर्मकौशलम् । भक्षणाद्धि सामर्थ्यं न भवतीति
 तस्मात् भक्षणार्थोऽयमुपदेश इति सिद्धम् ॥

इति मीमांसाशास्त्रसर्वस्वे तृतीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः^१ ॥

III.—The Yaunas of the Purāṇas and the Last Kushāṇa Emperor in India.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

1. *Yāunāḥ* of the Purāṇas¹ (misspelt as *Māunāḥ*), which I took to represent the Kushāṇa title *Jauva*,² can be now demonstrated to denote the Kushāṇa dynasty.
Yauna.
2. There is an inscription, found at Khura³ in the Salt Range (Punjab) and now deposited in the 'Kura' inscription. Lahore Museum, which was inscribed under the reign of a king who, it is strange, has not yet been properly identified, although there have been ample materials for the identification. The king was undoubtedly a Kushāṇa king of the imperial line.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE KING.

3. Dr. Bühler who edited the inscription in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 238, did not identify the king or his dynasty but 'on paleographical grounds' he held that 'it (the inscription) may be assigned to the fourth or the fifth century' (p. 239). His description of the script is thus—'the characters resemble those found in the older Buddhist nail-headed inscriptions of the Gupta period, but show certain peculiarities'.
Its script.
4. The test letters disclose earlier forms and the whole script brings the record in line with the Mathura inscription in Gupta letters of the year 57 (376 A.D.)⁴ and other early Gupta inscriptions. The record bears an unmistakable affinity with

¹ Vāyu, Pargiter, PT., pp. 46-47, n.s. 24, 76.

² J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 287.

³ Khura, not Kura seems to be the name. See ASR., 1927-28, p. 89.

⁴ See E.I., ii; plate facing p. 209, No. 38, also *ibid.*, p. 198.

the inscriptions of the fourth century and on the whole gives the impression that it is a document of the close of the fourth century, not later.

5. The King's name and titles are—

King's name and titles. (L. 1) Rājā[ti]rājā-Mahārāja-Toramāṇa Shāhi Jaū..

(L. 10) Mahārāja-Toramāṇa-Shāh[a]-Jaūvṇaḥ

Bühler did not read one letter between *Rājā* and *rāja* in line 1, but he considered that the blurred letter might have been 'dhi'. The facsimile, however, shows traces of 'ti,' not 'dhi.' The base of the letter is undoubtedly open, and the general form of the letter is not like 'dh' but like 't' occurring in, e.g., lines 3 and 5 (cf. *tārayitā*). *Shāhi* in line 1 is clear. The letter after 'Jau' in line 1 has become blurred, but the form of 'va' which is round throughout the inscription is clear in line 10. The other member of the ligature is read by Bühler as 'l' (*Jaūvḷaḥ*); it is really half 'ṇ' which may be compared with the form of 'ṇ' occurring several times in line 10. 'l' and 'ṇ' in ligatures are apt to be confused. The form *Jaūvṇaḥ* is genitive, because the preceding words are all in the genitive, and the succeeding words refer to the king's queens, princes and princesses, which necessarily makes the form *Jaūvṇaḥ* possessive. Bühler admitted that the form required should be genitive, but owing to his own reading *Jaūvḷaḥ*, he took it to be a mistaken nominative (p. 241, n. ²⁴). The nominative stem was taken as *Jauvan* from *Jauvā*, from which *Jaūvṇaḥ*, also **Jauvāṇaḥ*, **Jauṇāḥ*, etc., could arise in India, and the Purāṇas very likely intended the form 'Yaunāḥ,' which they do give and which I proposed to amend as *Jauvāḥ*. It should be noted here that a secondary form *Yavana* may well be derived from *Jaūvan* in the fifth, sixth, and later centuries—of which the 'Kilikilā Yavanāḥ' of the Vishṇu Purāṇa is probably an illustration.

Jaūvn° or *Yaunā* is to be traced in the expression *Jūnaḥ* of Firishṭa, employed to denote the Kushāṇa king against whom the first Sassanian king marched into the Punjab (V. Smith, E.H.I., 289, n.)

On the reading *jaūvnaḥ* I may cite the spelling of this word used as a proper-name on a Hun coin. Titles often became, as they do become to-day, proper-names—e.g., *Tigīna* in *Srī Shāhi Tigīna* of the Multan coin (Rapson, I.C., p. 31), '*Rājā*,' etc., current to-day. The Hun coin is struck with the legend *Shāhi Javūvnaḥ* 'of king *Javūvan*'. Here the lettering is clear and the full form of *ṇa*, with both hooked arms, is drawn. On the analogy of the Khura inscription it was read as *Javūvnaḥ* (See Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 29, Pl. IV, fig. 10; V. Smith, J.B.A.S., 1894, p. 189), which is a mistake, as *la* in that period, earlier or later, never has two arms, while *ṇa* has them.

6. Bühler¹ rightly said that this *Toramāṇa* cannot be identified with *Toramāṇa* the Hun of the Eran inscription. On the identification, however, he said, 'all I would say regarding him is that he ruled over north-western India and that he was an independent king. . . . It is also highly probable that he was not a native Indian. The name *Toramāṇa* is neither Sanskrit nor Prākṛit, but in all probability, a foreign one.'²

7. The titles '*Rājātīrāja*' and '*Shāhi*' are regular dynastic titles of the Kushāṇa kings. '*Jauv*' is also a Kushāṇa title which is known from the inscription of Kapa and coins. '*Rājātīrāja*' stands for *Shāhānushāhi*. '*Mahārāja*,' the great king, is also a well-known Kushāṇa form. The official style in the Hun inscription (Fleet, G.I., pp. 158, 161) is entirely different.

8. Fortunately regarding this name we have another source which confirms the identification, although, even without it '*Rājātīrāja*' cum '*Shāhi*' was sufficient to establish the identity of the dynasty.

Alberūnī (Vol. II., pp. 10-13)³ says that the dynasty was called *Shāhiyas of Kabul* who were foreigners. The last king of this dynasty was *Laga* (or *Laka*) *Tūrmān*. As to the identity of the dynasty there can be no room for doubt.

¹ And also Kielhorn, E.I., V, App. p. 72.

² I would add, it may be compared with *Rukamāna* in Girdharpur pillar inscription. J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, p. 6.

³ Cf. Bühler (E.I., i, 239) who missed the identity.

For Alberūnī places Kanik in this dynasty about whom he gives a monumental reference which proves him to be no other than Kanishka of history. 'One of this series of kings was Kanik, the same who is said to have built the Vihāra (the Buddhist monastery) of Purushāvar. It is called, after him, *Kanik-Chaitya*' (p. 11). The Kanik-Chaitya at Peshawar fixes the identity of Kanik with Kanishka. The Kanishka-Chaitya and the monastery still existed at the time of Alberūnī as they existed at the time of Viradeva of Nālandā who had been educated there in the reign of King Deva-Pāla (844-892 A.D.).¹

Alberūnī was not satisfied with the account of the dynastic successions which was given to him, for he expressly notes— 'Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of kings. They are very careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings.' With this caution he records what he had received from some people in his enquiry. He had been told that the pedigree of the royal family written on silk existed in the fortress of Nagarkoṭ (i.e., Koṭ Kāngrā) and he wanted to consult it, but unfortunately he could not go to Nagarkoṭ, otherwise to-day we would have been in possession of some important data. All the same, we may take it that we have here a trustworthy record of four facts—(1) that the dynasty of Kanishka was called the 'Shāhi dynasty of Kabul' who were foreigners, regarded as Turks in Alberūnī's time, (2) that from the first up to the last, Afghanistan was their centre, (3) that the last king of the dynasty was Toramāṇa, and (4) that the most important king of the line was Kanishka, builder of the Kanishka-Chaitya (excavated by Dr. Spooner in our time). That their rule endured in the Punjab up to the time of the king named Toramāṇa, is evident from this narration. We may ignore the account of the origin of the foundation of the dynasty as a piece of, to put it in the words of Alberūnī, 'tale-telling'; and similarly we may also treat the manner of the ending of the dynasty (by a Brahmin minister).² In the time of Alberūnī they were treated in India

¹ Ind. Antiquary, XVII, pp. 307-12. Smith, E.H.I. (1924), p. 277.

² The dynasty of the Hindu Shāhiyas founded by 'the Brahmin'

as a Turushka family—a name commonly employed for Central Asian tribes by the Hindus, and this Alberūnī has naturally rendered as 'Turk'. But his reference to Tibet as the original home of the Shāhiyas is important, for it shows that the Hindus knew them to have come from the other side of the Himalayas (Central Asia). It may be noted here that the Hindus about Alberūnī's time regarded Bactria and Khotan as Himalayan places, in their opinion they being northern counterparts to the Indian side of the Himalayas.¹ The connection with Kabul as the first place of occupation of the Shāhis is true and is based on history.

9. It seems that the Kushāṇas in the fourth century ruled over Bactria, Kabul, and the Punjab from one centre which was either in the Punjab or in Afghanistan. The Wei-liao 'informs us that during the period of the Three Kingdoms (A.D. 221-227) Kipin, Ta-hia, Kabul, and Tien-chu were all subject to the Great Yüechi' (Chavannes' translation). Kipin here is Kapiśā, i.e., the country north of Kabul, on the way to Ta-hia which is Bactria. T'ien-chu is India, at that time only the Punjab. The Chinese description gives a connected territory, Bactria-Kabul-Punjab. This evidently continued to be the case in the time of Chandra Gupta II who finally suppressed the Kushāṇa power. This territorial division explains the phrase on the Mēhrauli pillar '*the seven heads of the Sindhu*,' equivalent of the Persian *Hapta-Hindu*, which must include the Kabul valley² and which the conqueror, mentioned

Kallar, who adopted the 'Shāhi' ('king') title, came into existence about 875 A.D. The dynasty which existed up to the time of Alberūnī was wrongly connected by him with the earlier one, the Kabul Shāhiyas, i.e., the Kushāṇas. See A.S.R., Vol. V, p. 82, for the dates of the Hindu Shāhiyas. Tūrmān to be the last scion of the family of Kanishka, could not have been supplanted by Kallar c. 875 A.D. The chronology of the local Hindus connecting the two Shāhiyas was manifestly wrong. Such mistakes are not uncommon.

¹ See my note on *Tikin* in this issue for *Barhatakin* ('Takīn of Balkh'), the appellation of the first Kushāṇa king (Alberūnī, II, 10).

² J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, p. 32.

on the Mehrauli pillar, crossed for defeating the Bactrians. In 360 A.D. we do find the Kushāṇa king Grumbates as the king of Kabul fighting the Romans on the side of the Sassanian King, evidently a relation, along with his Indian elephants and the Śakas of Seistan.¹ A generation later Rājātirāja Toramāṇa, who had an established government in western Punjab—for the inscription is by his Superintendent of Monasteries—comes on the scene. He was either the king described as 'the Śaka emperor' in the *Devī-Chandraguptam* or his next successor. Undoubtedly he was the last king of the line of Kanishka, as he is so expressly described. Alberūni's '*Laga*' is some Śakish word like '*Liaka*'. *Laga* Tūrmān is said to have had 'bad manners and a worse behaviour' on account of which the people complained of him greatly to the (Brahmin) Vizir. All this reads like the character of the libidinous *Śakādhipati* of the *Devī-Chandra-Guptam*. It is said that the Brahmin ultimately occupied the throne. Probably on his defeat or assassination by Chandra-Gupta the province was given by the Gupta Emperor to a Brahmin minister, as Brahmins occupied highest political offices under the Guptas. The scholars in saying that there is no evidence of the Kushāṇa rule in the Punjab in the fourth century have been led to an erroneous conclusion on account of not taking note of the Khura inscription of Toramāṇa. That the Shāhi 'emperor' was there in the time of Samudra-Gupta is proved by the Allahabad pillar inscription.² That he continued to be there up to the time of Chandra-Gupta II and in Afghanistan is proved by the Roman account of Grumbates and the Khura inscription, and I may add, by the Mehrauli pillar as well. The Khura inscription is the last vestige of the Kushāṇa rule in India.

¹ V. Smith, E.H.I. (1924), p. 290. J.R.A.S., 1897, 908.

² Lines 23-24 indicate that by the submission of the *Daivaputra-Shāhi Shāhānushāhi-Saka-Murundas* the whole 'country' (not 'the whole world,' see AŚ., C. 122) was 'united' into one in Samudra Gupta and he was rendered 'king of an unobstructed passage' that is, a full territorial Emperor of India (as defined in the *Kautiliya*, as covering the whole length of India. AŚ., Ch. 122).

IV.—A Passage in Samudra Gupta's Inscription at Allahabad and Gupta Coinage.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

1. In the Allahabad pillar inscription, line 24 has a passage :

..... garutmadaṅka-svavishaya-
bhukti-śāsana-yāchan'-
-ādy-upāya-sevā-kṛita...

which has been translated by Fleet as

‘by the acts of respectful service such as (*giving*)
Garuḍa-tokens (*surrendering*) the enjoyment of their
territories, soliciting (*his*) commands, etc.’

(p. 14)

2. Dr. Fleet took *Garutmad-aṅka* to refer to the Gupta coinage (p. 14, n. 3).¹

3. On *aṅka* as royal symbol on coins, I may refer to *Mānāṅka* and *Guṇāṅka* on the Nepal coins of King Māna and King Guṇa (J.R.A.S., 1908, 678-79; Rapson, C.I., 32), and *Nānāṅka* of the Kāśikā (p. 304 on Pāṇini IV, 3. 127).²

4. But Fleet's translation of the passage misses the real point. The kings who accepted the suzerainty of Samudra Gupta ‘begged’ (*yāchana-upāya*) for *śāsana* for the enjoyment (use) of the Garuḍa coin in their own provinces (*sva-vishaya-bhukti*).

5. Mr. Allan is incorrect when he observes in his Catalogue of Gupta Coins (p. xxv, n. 1) that ‘Garutmadaṅka is not a coin of any kind’¹. Except for the coins struck on special occasions, e.g., *aśvamedha*, expedition (battle-axe type with threatening legends), propounding his theory on music disputing that of

¹ For the Garuḍa figure on Samudra Gupta's coins, see Allan's Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta Dynasties, p. 1 (Standard type), p. 6 (Archer type), plates I, II, IV. The figure is on a *Garuḍadhvaja*.

² I have explained *aṅka* and *rājāṅka* in my *Hindu Polity*, i, pp. 42-43.

Tumburu and Nārada (lyrist), the regular types of Samudra Gupta's coinage—Archer and Standard—bear the first mark Garuḍa. Like the *Nānāika* of the Kāśikā meaning the coin bearing NANA or Nanaia (Kushāṇa coin), the *Garutmadaṅka* means the coin bearing Garuḍa.

6. Śāsana here means a charter. Cf. *śāsanādhikāra* in the Kautīliya, and the word 'śāsana' on the seals of the Vākāṭaka charters (copperplates).¹ Some of those sovereigns or sub-sovereigns who submitted personally (*ātmanivedana*) or otherwise, as an act of homage (*ādy-upāya-sevā*) applied for the use and currency of the imperial coinage in their own dominions. And for this privilege they begged for the imperial charter, śāsana.

7. Fleet is wrong in adding 'giving' and 'surrendering' in the translation of the passage. The controlling word is *yāchana*, 'begging'.

8. Amongst the group classed as *Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhā-nushāhi-Śaka-Muruṇḍa*, who were three or more according to the plural termination (*°murūṇḍaiḥ*) in the inscription (l. 23), and from whom homage (*sevā*) in the shape (upāya) of *ātma-nivedana* (personal submission), *kanyopāyana-dāna*, *garutmadaṅka-svavishaya-bhukti-sāsana-yāchana*, etc., was received, we find one class who did accept and use the coinage of the Gupta emperor in its territory. The dynasty called *Gaḍahara* or *Gaḍakhara* on their coins and classed amongst the *Later Great Kushāns* by V. Smith but by R. D. Banerji amongst the *Little Yue-chi*, did mint coins with the name and figure of *Samudra* on the obverse. Mr. R. D. Banerji published a paper ('*Notes on Indo-Scythian Coinage*') on Smith's Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1908, pp. 81-93, to which Dr. Smith referred in his *Early History* (4th Ed., p. 291 n. 2) as 'corrections' to his own paper. In his paper Mr. Banerji has observed (p. 93):—

'Cunningham has enumerated three types of *Gaḍahara* Coinage:

(1) *Pereya*.... (2) *Kirada*.... (3) *Samudra* :—

'The resemblance between this coin and the coin of Samudra Gupta No. 10 (Spearman type variety a, Cat. I, p. 102) is so great that it is possible to say that the *Gaḍahara* tribe at last acknowledged the suzerainty of the great conqueror and placed his name on their coins.'

¹ Fleet, G.I., pp. 236, 240, and other documents.

This seems to have been continued to the next generation. There are coins inscribed with the dynastic designation *Shaka* and *Shāka*, found in the Peshawar District (Banerji, J.A.S.B., 1894, p. 182, *n.*; 1897, p. 5) of the third and fourth centuries A.D. (V. Smith, C.I.M., p. 88). There are also the allied and contemporary coins of the *Sha*[or, *Pa*]lada title (C.I.M., pp. 88-89, J.A.S.B., 1908, p. 89). Either they belonged to the family of the Kushāṇas or were subordinate rulers under them. Both these Shākas and the Shaladas adopted the Imperial Kushāṇa coinage. The coin (No. 13356, at p. 65 of Rodgers' Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum, Part III, plate III) is evidently a Shalada coin. Rodgers read the legend as च श and rightly described it as 'allied to Gupta coins'. The figure is Hindu and of Chandra Gupta. The word *Chandra* is inscribed by the effigy as on Gupta coins. We clearly get one Śaka or Shāka dynasty at Peshawar, apart from one in the Western Satraps. On the coin of Pa. Shāka (J.B.A.S., 1897, p. 5; C.I.M., p. 89) we have 'Shalada' or 'Plada'. It seems that the Shaladas, who have few coins, were identical with the Shakas.¹

The Shalada-Shakas seem to have adopted the Gupta coinage like the Gaḍaharas.

The Gaḍahara ruler who adopted Samudra Gupta's name and figure on his coin belonged to the Little Yü-chi clan, allied to the Great Yü-chi or the Imperial Kushāṇas. The Gaḍaharas have on their coins *kshuṇa* and so have the Kidāra-Kushāṇas who put down on their coins *Kida*, and *Kasha*, as abbreviations (J.B.A.S., 1908, p. 92). The word *Kshuṇa* (cf. Prakrit *Kshulla*), in my opinion, represents 'Little', a translation of the original which was rendered by the Chinese as 'Little' Yü-chi. Gaḍahara or Gaḍakhara (with *kshuṇa*) seems to stand for Little Yü-ti. There seems to be an abbreviation

¹ The former numismatic view was that these princes were 'Later Great Kushāṇs', but owing to the differing theories on the Kushāṇa origins, they have been kept separate. I have no doubt that they are Kushāṇa.

of *Shaka* (as *Sha.*) after 'Gaḍahara' on the coin of Peraya (J.A.S.B., 1897, p. 4).

Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi representing the Imperial Kushāṇa, 'the Daivaputra-Shāhi-emperor' (probably distinguishing him from the Sassanian emperor), 'the Śaka lords' (*Śaka-muruṇḍāḥ*) were the smaller Śaka rulers like the Shalada Shāka, the Gaḍahara and the Western Satrap. The latter was confined to Kachh and Lower Sindh. The Abhīras, the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas who came under Samudra Gupta reduce the Western Satrap to a narrow strip as indicated. The Abhīras represented Kathiawad-Gujarat. There was no room for the Western Satrap to reach Malwa which was under autonomous communities and not under the Satrap. From Kachh to Sindh, Baluchistan, Sistan and Gandhāra, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Bactria—all a connected territory—was under the Shāhānushāhi along with his subordinates. In the Punjab they were bounded by the Madrakas and the Yaudheyas backed by the direct rule of the Gupta emperor. Only the valley of the Indus and part of the Chenab were under the Kushāṇa 'emperor'.¹ Gandhāra and Kashmir¹ seem to have been under his relations with ruling powers, who never describe themselves as kings on their coins. The acceptance of the Gupta currency by the Gandhāra Śakas transferred them from the Shāhānushāhi to the Gupta emperor.

9. Samudra Gupta was very particular about his imperial coinage. The Ārjunāyanas, the Mālavas, the Yaudheyas, and the Nāga kings all cease minting their coins in his reign. He allowed the privilege of possessing their own mints to the Gandhāra Śakas and the Little Yü-chi rulers but instead of their coins wearing any Kushāṇa imperial signs they had to bear the Imperial Gupta marks.²

10. It seems that for the Indian possessions under his direct rule the Shāhānushāhi rendered personal submission,

¹ Cf. सिन्धुतट-दार्वाकोर्वी-चन्द्रभाग-काश्मीर-विषयान् ब्रूयात् स्वेच्छादयः शुद्धा भोक्ष्यन्ति—Vishṇu Purāṇa, which corresponds to the Bhāgavata which adds *Kauntī* (Kachh). The Purāṇic data here refer to the Early Gupta Period.

² The Western Satrap seems to have retained his coinage.

confirming it by some marriage alliance (giving of *kanyā*). Samudra Gupta thus completed his empire up to the natural frontiers of India, as described in the *Mānavadharmasāstra*.

11. The legends on the *Garutmadaṅka* coins of Samudra Gupta (the Standard and the Archer types) show that they were the normal coins, settled upon in and for peace times when he could count and give the number of the battles fought for making the empire or, to quote his own words, for uniting the whole country ['*dharanī-bandhasya*'].

V.—The Kākas—their Location.

The Kākas, an autonomous community mentioned in Samudra Gupta's inscription on the Allahabad pillar (line 22; Fleet, G.I, pp. 8, 14) have remained unidentified. They are placed in the inscription next to the Sanakānikas. At Udayagiri, we have in the inscription of the year 82 (Gupta Era) a Sanakānika governor, evidently hereditary, with the title of *Mahārāja* extending over three generations. He is taken by Fleet to be the local feudatory ruler. The Kākas and Sanakānikas are placed as neighbours by V. Smith in his map of the Gupta Empire [E.H.I.], though his location could not be accurate.

It is evident that the two political communities mentioned above were in Eastern Malwa. The Sanakānikas must have been near Bhilsa. The Sanakānika Mahārāja excavated the cave-temple called Chandra Gupta Temple and the Varāha panel sculptures and other sculptures at the cave. As to their exact home we have yet no information. But regarding the Kākas we seem to be on firmer grounds.

In Eastern Malwa we have two place-names of ancient character bearing on the Kākas. One is the name of the hill now called Sanchi hill. Its name in the inscriptions on the site is *Kāka-nāda* (F.G.I., p. 31). It means 'the Praise of the Kākas'. Still more important is the large and ancient village called *Kāka-pur*, some 20 miles north of Bhilsa, hitherto unnoticed. I found this place on my journey from Eran to Bhilsa by the new metalled road of the Gwalior State running from Isāgarh via Sironj to Bhilsā, which was under construction when I passed on it last December. Kākapur is situated on a river, and a hill opposite the village by the road has two square temples and a few Gupta sculptures. A large number of pillars and Sati memorials cover the plain in front of the temple-hill. Mediæval inscriptions are also in evidence. They with the temples testify to the continued importance of the place from the Gupta to the Mediæval period.

I propose to identify Kākapur as the ancient seat of the Kākas. There were two routes from Bundelkhand to Bhilsa or its ancient representative Vidiśā, one was via Rāhatgarh (Dist. Sagar) and Gyaraspur and the other via Eran and Kākapur. On both these routes I have travelled; both are strewn with ancient monuments.

K. P. J.

VI.—An Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur District.

By Sudhakar Patnaik, B.A.

Of the limited few copperplates and other inscriptions in the Oriya language and character so far discovered no less than two belong to the Sambalpur District. And the one under notice is one of them, the other being the inscription on the temple of Narsingnāth in the Gandhamārdan mount in the Borāsambar Zemindary of that district.

The inscription under notice is a deed of gift of village Baragarh in the Subdivision of that name in the district of Sambalpur granted muafi-rent free, during the Hindu period by Mahārāj Nārāyan Singh, the last Rājāh of Sambalpur, to Nārāyan Dās and Krushna Dās, two brothers, who were the gountiās (village headmen in Sambalpur having the status of a semi-landlord) of Baragarh village in recognition of the services rendered to the state by them as well as by their father Bāluki Dās who (Bāluki Dās) was assassinated while serving the raj, by the rebels in the Gond rising during the reign of Mahārāj Nārāyan Singh.

This copperplate is the property of Babu Mitrabhānu Dās, one of the descendants of the donees, now residing at villages Baragarh and Tālsrigirā. The size of the plate is $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. At the middle of the top side there is a projection having a hole in it for letting in a string for purposes of hanging. The plate has been so inscribed that the top side of the obverse is the foot side of the reverse. The inscription consists of 25 lines, 16 on the obverse and 9 on the reverse, and each letter is about $\frac{1}{4}''$ square. The deed commences with a *wheel*¹ at the top.

The plate is clearly dated. It was granted on a third day of the week, i.e., on a Tuesday which was a Saptami in the bright fortnight in the month of Mārgasir, in the Sambat year

¹ Sign Purnokumbho.

of 1901. Bikram Sambat has general currency in Sambalpur and hence the gift was obviously made some time in November-December¹ in the year 1844 A.D. This is also corroborated by the Sambalpur Gazetteer according to which Mahārāj Nārāyan Singh reigned in Sambalpur from 1833 to 1849.

As already said the village of Baragarh was granted to brothers Nārāyan Dās and Krushna Dās in recognition of the services rendered to the state by themselves and their father Bāluki Dās. The following is a short account of the family and of the Gond rising in which Bāluki Dās was killed by the Gonds.

One Mādhav Dās of Kausik Gotra, originally a resident of Śrīrāmchandrapur Sāson near Puri, emigrated to Binkā which was then as now a flourishing town in the Sonapur State. His eldest son Sambhu Dās shifted from Binkā to village Kalāpāni near Baragarh in Sambalpur. Bāluki Dās was the only issue of Sambhu Dās. Mahārāj Sāi was then reigning in Sambalpur. Bāluki Dās, it is said, was a very strong man with an imposing appearance. About this time the Mahrattas used to make frequent raids on Sambalpur and during one such raids they caught hold of Bāluki Dās as he offered resistance to them and removed him to the district of Chandā in C.P. and employed him as a keeper of buffaloes. Some years after when the Mahratta power was waning Bāluki Dās managed to run away to Sambalpur with about 1,000 buffaloes of which he made a gift to the Rājāh. He was in return granted a small village named Malmandā. About this time in 1827 Mahārāj Sāi died and there was trouble in the state. Some time after Mahārāj Nārāyan Singh ascended to the throne of Sambalpur and it is said Bāluki Dās had no small hand in the matter. However

¹ Possibly 17th December. Although it appears saptami had already expired on the previous day, I hold it to be the 17th because it is generally found that among the calendars (*Panjikas*) current in this part prepared by local astronomers from year to year no two agree in their calculations. And so I hold according to the *Panjika* used it was, rightly or wrongly, saptami on the 17th December, 1844 A.D. This is all the more strengthened by the fact that although a *Tithi* (तिथि) might be wrong depending as it does on the calculations of an astronomer, the man in the street even, cannot commit a mistake as to the simple fact of the day of the week, 17th December, 1844, being Tuesday.

Surendra Sāi and other pretenders continued to create troubles by instigating the Gonds and Binjhāls and other aboriginals. Bāluki Dās was however of great help to Nārāyan Singh at this time in trying to quell the rebellion. Bāluki Dās had then retained a force of 300 at his own cost. He assassinated the influential Gond Chief of Páhār Śrigirā and built a high Machān at village Katápāli which was called the *Gondamārdan Bhādi* (a machān to suppress the Gonds). As reward for services rendered to the state he was granted by the Rājāh of Sambalpur 96 Gond villages one after another, such as Bārapali, Tālsrigirā, Torā, Kolundā, Degān, Bichhuān, and others. About this time one night the Gonds made a sudden attack on the house of Bāluki Dās at village Torā, burnt it and assassinated him there. Village Baragarh was then granted by the Rājāh to the two sons of Bāluki Dās as already said.

As to the then condition of the state we get the following authentic account from the Sambalpur Gazetteer.—

‘Maharaj Sai died in 1827 and his widow Rani Mohan Kumari was allowed to succeed. Disturbances immediately broke out, and for some years there was constant internecine strife between the recognised ruler and the pretenders to the Chiefship. The most prominent of the latter was Surendra Sai, who claimed Chiefship as being descended from Madhukar Sai, the fourth Rajah of Sambalpur. He was readily supported by the discontented Gond and Binjhal Zemindars who found their privilege threatened and their lands encroached on by Hindu favourites of the Rani. Villages were plundered to within a few miles of Sambalpur and though Lieutenant Higgins, with a body of Ramgarh battalion which was stationed within the fort drove off the insurgents matters became so serious that it became necessary to march a force from Hazaribagh to put an end to the disturbances. This force was commanded by Captain Wilkinson, who after hanging several of the rebels, came to the conclusion that there would be endless troubles so long as the Rani remained in power. He accordingly deposed her and set up Narayan Singh, a descendant of Bikram Singh, the eldest son of Rajah Baliar Singh, who had hitherto been considered not qualified to hold the Raj owing to his mother being of

inferior caste. * * * * *
 * * * * * Mohan Kumari was

sent off to Cuttack, the Government troops were withdrawn and Narayan Singh was left to manage his newly acquired principality as well as he could.

Rebellion broke out at once, the Gonds rising under Balabhadra Dáo, a Gond Zemindar of Lakhanpur, and it was a long time before the rebellion could be put down as the insurgents always found shelter in the vast range of hills known as the Bárapáhar. Balabhadra Dáo, was, however, at last slain at Debrigarh, the highest point of the hills and a noted rebel stronghold. An even more serious disturbance followed in 1839 chiefly due to Surendra Sai, who looked upon Narayan Singh as an usurper, and as already mentioned, claimed the throne on the ground of his descent from the fourth Rajah of Sambalpur. In 1840, he and his brother Udwant Sai, with their uncle Balaram Singh, murdered in cold blood the son and father of Daryao Singh, Zemindar of Rampur. Upon this the three were arrested, and sent to the Jail at Hazaribagh as life prisoner.

Narayan Singh died in 1849, and his widow Rani Mukhyapan Devi, assumed the reins of Government but as he had died without male issues, the country was annexed by the British. This decision was taken in pursuance of Lord Dalhousie's well-known doctrine of Lapse, but the case of Sambalpur was different from that of other states, for no adoption had ever been proposed, and the last Rajah had during his life time expressly intimated his wish that the British Government should take possession of his principality and provide for his Ranis.' (Sambalpur Gazetteer, pp. 26-28.)

Some further information is obtained from the accounts of Lieutenant Kittoe of his journey through the forests of Orissa published in J.A.S.B., May, 1839, as quoted below :—

'The town of Sambalpur extends for upwards of 2 miles along the proper left bank of the river (The Mahanadi); of this space the fort occupies about 3 quarters of a mile. It is fast falling to ruin, the Rajah no longer resides in the old Noor (citadel, palace), which is occupied by some of his officers;

there is a miserable garrison of a few ragamuffins dressed as sepahis and some 20 or 30 sowars whose steeds are like pharaoh's lean kine. The walls are in a very dilapidated state, having suffered much from the effect of the extraordinary flood of 1836. The bamboo thicket which was cut down during the time the territory was in our possession used to act as a breakwater and protected the walls which are very ill-constructed of unhewn stones. The ditch and swamp which defended the other three faces, are in a great measure filled up and over-grown with weeds and must render that quarter of the town very unhealthy. There is no appearance of any trade being carried on, nor is there so much as the site of such a large and populous place would lead you to suppose. Merchants concentrate here from Cuttack, Budree (Boad?) Nagpur, Bhopal, Chhattisgarh, Sirgooja, and barter their goods. Those of the lower provinces bringing salt, cocoanuts, cotton, cloth, spices, brass utensils, etc., exchanging the same with those of the country for wheat, gram, lac and cotton. Gold in small lumps is also taken in payment and occasionally diamonds. The only produce of the province employed consists of oil seeds, cotton, and rice which are taken by bullocks and (during rains) sent by water to the Mogulbandi of Orissa'.

'Lieutenant Kittoe adds an instructive instance of the methods of justice, saying "I was somewhat surprised one morning while taking my ride to see three human heads stuck on a pole at the junction of two roads near the town; their owner having forfeited them for treason though not without a protracted and severe struggle". As he visited Sambalpur in May, 1838, these heads had been exposed for 4 months.' (Sambalpur Gazetteer, p. 29.)

At such a time it was no wonder that Bāluḳi Dās killed the rebel Zemindar of Pāhār Śrigrirā or that he himself was slain by them.

The grant has by now been half resumed and will in course of time be fully resumed.

I now give below the full text of the grant:—

Obverse.



1. खस्ती श्रीमा¹हाराज(1)धिराज श्रीश्रीमा¹हाराज
2. श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीनारायण सिङ्ग देव श्रीमा¹
3. हाराजाङ्गर ॥ नारायण दास गउटौ
4. आओ कृष्ण दास गउटौआ मध्य दूइ
5. भाईङ्ग ॥ सिरकाटा तम्बा पटा पत्रदि
6. आगला कौ तुम्मे हजूरर खैरखा
7. हौ नेकनामि खिजीमती हरिएकल
8. उरे वजाइवाककि ओ तुम्भर वा
9. प वालकी दास मध्य हजूरर नीम
10. करे सिरकाटे जीवाककि तुम्भ
11. कु वमदे नजर मौउजे वड़गड़
12. रकतपटा करि खैइरात दीआग
13. ला ॥ ओ तुम्भकु ऊकुम दीआ जाउछि कौ
14. तुम्मे ए गां ओ वजार मालगुजार
15. कर कउड़ी सजल स्थल नीधिनौ
16. खात काळ पासाण गछ माछ छा

Reverse.

17. या उपछाया सहीते आसीमान्त क
18. रि जावत्त² चन्द्रर्करे भस्मान्तिके
19. तावत्त³ प्रासन ठतौ प्रमाणरे भौ
20. ग करिव ॥ श्रीसरकारर खैरखा
21. ने क खिजमतरे पुस्त दरपुस्तरे हाज
22. र थिव ॥ खदत्तं परदत्तं वा जो हरे वै वसु
23. न्धरा ॥ सखिवर्ण सहस्राणि वीष्टा
24. यां जायते क्कमी ल ॥ मौतौ मार्गशी
25. शु ७३ वार स्मृत १६०१ साल । सही

¹ Read सहा.

² Read यावत्.

³ Read तावत्.

Translation.

May Mahārājādhirāj Nārāyan Singh Dev reign in peace. The Mouza of Baragarh is granted rent-free by *Raktapātā* to Nārāyan Dās and his brother Krushna Dās Gountiās on account of the various services rendered by you (the donees) to the state and on account of your father Bāluki Dās having been beheaded while also rendering such service, by this *Sirakatā* (beheadment) copperplate grant with the direction that you will enjoy the rent together with all other kinds of usufruct of this village consisting of produce from land, from water, from mines, from forests, from fishery and so on, so long as there exist the Sun and the Moon and so long as (the world is not) turned into ashes, by the strength of this grant and you for generations will remain loyal.

Whoever takes away from a donee some lands gifted by himself or by somebody else is doomed to be born as a worm in the stool for sixty thousand years.

The 3rd day of the week (Tuesday), the 7th day of the bright fortnight in the Sambat year 1901. Signed.

NOTES.

1-5. *सिरकटा तम्बापटा*—Copperplate granted on account of the beheadment (of the father of the donees).

1-12. *रक्तपटा करि*—Besmearing the deed of gift with the blood (of the father of the donees)? In return for the blood of the father of the donees? or written with the blood (of the father of the donees).

From the inscription it will appear that although Sambalpur is situated on the border of the Hindi-speaking Central Provinces, the Oriya language and script had a strong hold there from a very remote period. It will appear such letters as ओ, क, इ, ञ have been incised in what is known as the Karani script of the Oriya alphabets. The language and phraseology of the deed are also peculiar to Oriya, and also the use of the letter ञ at the end of the text.

There are a number of spelling mistakes as would naturally be the case. There is very little difference in the shape of **आकार** and **दीर्घईकार** both having been incised almost similar to the present day **यफला** in Oriya which is the common form of these *mātrās* (**आकार** and **दीर्घईकार**), more particularly of **आकार**, as used even to-day by the old orthodox school of Oriya Scribes while writing on a palm leaf with the iron *lekhani* and although from the appearance one may at the first sight mistake them for **यफला** they are not actually that.

VII.—Note on an Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur District.

By G. Ramadas, B.A.

The language of the grant is Oriya; but the verse ll. 22-24 is Sanskrit; and the following are Urdu ll. 6 and 9 ड़ूर; l. 6 खैरखाही; नेकनामि; खिजीमतीहार; l. 11 वमदे नज़र; मउजे; l. 12 खैरात; l. 13 ड़कुम्; l. 20 सर्कार; रखेरखा; l. 21 नेकखिजीमत्; पुस्तदरपुस्तरे हाज़र.

Orthography:—The letters are all modern Oriya; but the following are Korni Characters:—क and ज and ह all through. The long 'ā' is represented by a vertical line all through; but in l. 23 सद्धत्राणि the ā sign has a 'u' shaped curve at the top to the left, such sign represents the 'ya' in combination with a consonant. The other mistakes are corrected by means of footnotes to the text.

The date of the grant is given in ll. 24-25 as मिति मार्गशी शु ७३ वार सुत १९०१ साल। i.e., Tuesday, the 7th tithi of the bright half of Margaśira in the Samvat year 1901. This date when verified comes to this.

The 7th tithi of the bright half of Margaśira of the Samvat year 1901 fell on 15th December, 1844 A.D., but it was Monday and the tithi ended at 34 gh, 12 v. gh (Lanka time) after Sunrise. The same tithi of the same month of the Samvat year 1900 fell on 28th November, 1843 A.D., and it was Tuesday and the tithi ended at 23 gh, 24 v. gh (Lanka time) after Sunrise. Perhaps the Samvat year given in the grant was meant for the current year.

The top sign, perhaps the crest of the family.

TEXT.

Obverse.

1. खलि[॥] श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीमहाराज
2. श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्री नारायणसिङ्ग देव श्रीमा-
3. हाराजङ्गर ॥ नारायणदास गाउथ

4. आओ कृष्णदास गउद्य आमथ्य दुइ
5. भाइङ्ग । सिरकद्य तम्बापद्यपत्र दि-
6. आगला कि तुम्हे हजूरर खैरखा-
7. ह्यौ नेकनामि खिजीमतिहर एकल
8. उरे बजाइबारकरि उ तुम्भर बा-
9. प बालकिदास मध्य हजूरर नीम-
10. करे सिरकाटे जीबारकरि तुम्भ
11. ड्हु वमदेनजर मोउजे बड़गड़
12. रक्तपद्यकरि खइरात दिआग-
13. ला ॥ ओ तुम्भकु डकम दिआ जाउच्छि कि
14. तुम्हे ए गाँ ओ बजारमाला गुजार
15. कर कउड़ी[॥*] सजलस्थलनिधिनि
16. खात काटपाषाण गच्छ माच्छा-

Reverse.

17. या उपच्छाया सहिते आसीमान्त क-
18. रि जावत्त चन्द्रार्करे भस्मान्तिके
19. तावत्त शासन वृत्तीप्रमाणरे भो-
20. ग करिव ॥ खदत्तं परदत्तं वा जोहरे वे वसु
21. न्यरा सष्टिवर्ष¹ सहस्राणि वीष्टा
22. यां जायते कृमौः ॥ मौती मार्गशी
23. शु ७३ बार स्मृत १६०१ साल ॥ सही

Translation.

- II. 1-3. Hail! The assent (l. 25 Sahi) of Sri, Sri, Mahārājādhirāja Sri, Sri, Maharaja Sri Sri Sri Sri Nārāyana Singha Deva, Mahārāja. (ll. 3-6), the deed written on copperplate (in acknowledgment) of giving the head is given to the two brothers Narayanadas Gautya and Krishнадas Gautya. (ll. 6-8), you have been dependent on (खैरखाह्यौ), faithful (नेकनामि), (and) dutiful (खिजीमत्हार) to the state (हजूर); you struck

¹ Read षष्टि वर्ष

(the enemy) on the chest. (ll. 8-13), and your father Bālukidas too, being faithful to the state gave up his life by having his head cut off (by the enemy). (So) to you is given the bloody deed (रक्तपटा) (for) Boḍogodo belonging to the region already in your enjoyment. We now give this permission (इकम). (ll. 14-15) you may collect fees from this village and its market.

- ll. 15-20. You shall enjoy, on the authority of this gift (शासनदत्तौ प्रमाण) the whole land including the water and land, mines and wells, timber and stone, trees and fish, shade and shadow within the boundaries, until the moon and the sun are turned to ashes.
- ll. 20-22. You fool! whoever robs his own or other's gift of land shall be born as a worm in the muck for six thousand years.
- ll. 22-23. Date (मौनी) Margaśira su. 7, 3rd (day of the) week, the Samvat year 1901.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—A Note on 'Tikina' and 'Khasa'.

Tikina. On this title (*J.B.O.R.S.*, XVIII, p. 4) the title *Shāhi-Tigina* on the coin given by Cunningham in *A.S.R.*, Vol. V, plate XXXVII, and his opinion connecting it with the *Tagina* in the names of the Slave Kings and the meaning 'valiant' (*A.S.R.*, V. 121-122) may be consulted. See also *Barhatakin*, the Kabul name of Kanishka's ancestor (Alberuni, II, 10). *Barha-Takin* means the Takin (Ruler) of *Varha* (Parthian pronunciation of *Balkh*, Bactria).

Khasa. *Khasa* in *Khasādhipati* in the verse cited by Rājaśekhara (*J.B.O.R.S.*, XVIII, p. 20) might have referred to the fact that the ruler intended was the ruler of or arising from Kashgarh (Central Asia), a description of the Kushānas.

K. P. J.

II.—Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E.

(b. 6th December, 1852—d. 17th November, 1931.)

The late Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri, one of our honorary members and one of the practical founders of our Society, will be long remembered as the founder of a school of Indologists in Eastern India. I give below a biography of that great scholar.

When the Rajas of Naldanga in Jessore were rising to a leading position in Bengal, they selected Rājendra Vidyālaṅkāra as their Sabhā Pandit in preference to such eminent men as Vasudeva Sārvabhauma, Raghunandana, Vidyānivāsa, and others who were the Raja's next of kin. In the family of Rājendra Vidyālaṅkāra was born Māṇikya Chandra Tarkabhūṣana who was fourth in descent. He settled at Naihati about 1760 A.D. and soon became a rival of Jagannātha Tarkapañchānana whose influence with the East India Company and the Rajas of the time was very great. Māṇikya Chandra's opinion on matters of Hindu Law were treated with great respect by Sir William Jones, the Sanskritist Judge of the Supreme Court. Māṇikya's grandson Rāmakamala Nyāyaratna was one of the foremost Naiyāyikas of his time. Mr. Ramaprasad Roy, the first Indian Judge of the Calcutta High Court and son of Raja Rammohan Roy, describes the family of Rāmakamala in the following terms: 'Nearly half the celebrities of the land are disciples of this family and no congregation of Pandits is said to be complete without the presence of his (Nanda Kumar Nyāyachuñchu's) father', [i.e., Rāmakamala Nyāyaratna, the father of Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri]. It is said that for sixteen generations an unbroken tradition of high Sanskrit scholarship was maintained in this family, most of them being professors of Navyanyāya'.

In this family Haraprasad was born on 6th December, 1852, and from his very childhood showed promise. In the beginning

he was sent to a Tol near by. With a view to learn English he came to Calcutta and sought the help of Īśvara Chandra Vidyāsāgara. Pandit Īśvara Chandra was struck by the intelligence of young Haraprasad and made all arrangements for giving him education. His pecuniary help was subsequently found to be unnecessary as Haraprasad was able to obtain enough for himself by way of scholarships. He passed all his examinations of the Calcutta University with great distinction up to his M.A. degree, winning the title of *Śāstrī*.

In February, 1878, he entered Government Service as Head Pandit of the Hare School. In September of the same year, he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit in the Canning College, Lucknow, where he served for thirteen months. In January, 1883, he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit Literature in the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta. In September of the same year, he was transferred to the Bengali Translators' Office as Assistant Translator. In January, 1886, he was appointed Librarian of the Bengal Library, an office which he held for eight years; his annual reports were highly appreciated by Sir Alfred Croft, the then Director of Public Instruction, Bengal. In February, 1894, his services were transferred to the Presidency College, Calcutta, as Senior Professor of Sanskrit. In December, 1900, he was appointed Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and Registrar of Sanskrit Examinations in Bengal. He retired from Government Service in November, 1908. But Government put him on the day of his retirement in charge of a Bureau of Information for the benefit of Civil Officers in Bengal, in history, religion, customs and folklore, an office which he held till the last day of his life. In 1922, when the Dacca University started working, Shastri was invited to organise the Department of Sanskrit and Bengali. He remained there as Professor for three years and during this period in addition to his ordinary duties read many original papers and gave an impetus to the students of East Bengal to carry on original research. He was honoured there by an honorary degree of doctorate.

Shastri had been a great factor in the rise of modern scholarship in Calcutta. The famous R. D. Banerji, Mr. Nilmani

Chakravarti, Dr. Binoytosh Bhattacharya, and a number of notable scholars have been his direct contribution to the cause of Indology.

In 1903, he was appointed a member of a Commission to report on the Bodh Gaya Temple dispute along with Mr. Justice Sarada Charan Mitra; the report submitted elicited highest encomium from the then Lieutenant Governor Mr. J. A. Bourdillon who called it 'a monument of learning, assiduity, and impartiality'. In 1911, Shastri was appointed a member of the Conference of Orientalists held at Simla to which he submitted many notes, most of which were accepted by the Conference. It was there that he advocated knowledge of English in Sanskrit scholars. He often used to tell me: 'English (i.e., modern knowledge) makes a scholar awake, while Sanskrit alone makes one blind'. In 1908, Shastri with Professor A. A. Macdonell of Oxford collected rare Vedic manuscripts for the Max Muller Memorial at Oxford. He also collected nearly 7,000 MSS. which the Maharajadhiraja of Nepal presented to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Lord Curzon in an autograph letter thanked him thus: 'I should like both as a former Viceroy and Chancellor of the University to send you a most sincere line of thanks for the great service which your erudition, good will, and indefatigable exertion have enabled you to render to us'.

In 1912, Shastri at the request of Sir John Marshall purchased for the Archæological Department a collection of MSS., which after an examination of three years proved to be one of the largest, containing nearly twelve thousand manuscripts. The Vedic MSS. in this Collection are very valuable.

Shastri's early association with Raja Rajendralal Mitra was of great use in developing his own scholarship. In 1878, Dr. Rajendralal Mitra asked Pandit Haraprasad to translate the Gopālatapanīya Upaniṣad into English and sought his assistance in the preparation of his monumental work entitled the *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*. The assistance rendered by Shastri was acknowledged in the Preface of that work by Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra:..... 'during a protracted attack of illness, I felt the want of help and a friend of mine,

Babu Haraprasad Śāstri, M.A., offered his co-operation and translated the abstract of 16 of the large works. His initials have been attached to the names of those works in the table of contents. I feel deeply obliged to him for the timely aid he rendered me and tender him my cordial acknowledgments for it. His thorough mastery of the Sanskrit language and knowledge of European literature fully qualified him for the task and he did his work to my entire satisfaction.'

In 1885, Shastri was elected a member of the Asiatic Society; he was at once put on the Philological Committee and was placed in charge of the Bibliotheca Indica Publications. He held this office for 22 years and had to revise the last proofs of all non-resident editors. He left it in 1906 when he was appointed Vice-President of the Society for life. Shastri was elected President of the Asiatic Society in 1920 and thus realised his ambition of occupying the Chair once adorned by the illustrious Sir William Jones, the Founder of that Society.

In July, 1891, on the death of Raja Rajendralal Mitra he was made the Director of the operations in search of Sanskrit MSS., an appointment which he held till the end of his life. In this capacity he collected 8,000 select MSS., submitted six long and learned reports and published eight volumes of Notices of Sanskrit MSS., two of which contain catalogues of Palm-leaf and Paper MSS. in the Durbar Library, Nepal. His reports and notices have always been well received by Oriental scholars of Europe and India and they have been and will be often referred to by scholars. After his retirement from Government Service the Council of the Asiatic Society requested him to undertake a Descriptive Catalogue of the entire collection consisting of 11,000 MSS. The collection was catalogued by him, and the publication of the Catalogue kept him busy till his death. He could publish six sumptuous volumes on Buddhist, Vedic, Smṛiti, History and Geography, Vyākaraṇa and Alankāra and Purāṇa MSS. before his death. The seventh volume dealing with Sāhitya MSS. was also in print in November, 1931, and at the time of his death he was engaged in writing an exhaustive introduction to this volume. It appears from his Introduction to the 6th volume that he could foresee that his

end was near and that he would not live to complete the subsequent volumes, a fear he mentioned to me when I saw him last some months before his death.

In 1909, the Council of the Asiatic Society asked him to undertake on behalf of the Government of India to report on the Bardic MSS. in Rajputana and to formulate a practical scheme for their collection and preservation. This work took four years during which he submitted four annual progress reports, which contain many new and interesting discoveries in the political, social, religious and literary history of Rajputana. In his capacity as the officer in charge of the operations in search of Sanskrit and Bardic MSS. he had to make long tours in Rajputana, Malwa, Nepal, Orissa, Benares and Bihar.

Shastri was a good writer of Bengali. While he was in the B.A. Class the Maharaja of Indore paid a visit to the Sanskrit College and offered a prize to the best writer of an essay on the highest ideal of woman's character as set forth in ancient Sanskrit writers, in Bengali. The prize was won by Haraprasad, his essay is still regarded as a standard work on the subject. 'Bhārata Mahilā' attracted the attention of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and he published it in his magazine the *Vaṅgadarśana*.

His most interesting work in Bengali is the *Vālmīkir Jaya* or the 'Triumph of Valmiki', a poem in prose, the central idea of which is the triumph of moral over physical and intellectual power. Regarding its author, Bankim Chandra has said: 'The course of imagination of this young writer is like the strides of a proud and haughty lion'. On an English translation of this work the Shakespearean critic, Professor Dowden remarked: 'It will extend the horizon of Western imagination'.

Another work published in the *Vaṅgadarśana* is the *Kāñchanamālā*, a historical novel dealing with the reign of Aśoka, which when it appeared in the *Vaṅgadarśana* Sir Ramesh Chandra Mitra took to be the best work of Bankim Chandra, as the author's name was not attached to it. His next Bengali work is *Bhāratavarṣher Itihāsa* which for the first time contained a connected and comprehensive historical account of the Hindu Period. He also prepared an edition of the *Kīrtitātā* of

Vidyāpati. He wrote regularly in the *Nārāyaṇa*, a Bengali magazine, in which he published his criticisms on Kālidāsa and popular articles on Buddhism.

The most remarkable contribution towards the study of Bengali literature is his edition of the *Bauddha Gāna O Dohā* consisting of the *Caryācaryaviniścaya*, and the two Dohākoṣas of Sarojavajra and Advayavajra, representing the earliest specimens of the eastern or proto-Bengali language so far available. The Dohās were accompanied with ancient commentaries in Sanskrit, and the earliest among them may belong to a period much before the 11th century. The manuscripts of the three works were discovered by him in the Durbar and private libraries in Nepal.

Shastri published the *Svayambhū Purāṇa*, the only Buddhist Purāṇa ever written. It is a history of Nepalese Buddhism giving also a detailed topography of all holy places in that country, especially of the Svayambhū Kṣettra, the greatest place of pilgrimage of the Northern Buddhists.

His *Six Tracts of Buddhist Nyāya* are works on Buddhist Logic and Philosophy of the later Buddhist world, throwing a flood of light on such abstruse topics as Antaryyāpti or inference without example, on the transitoriness of the phenomenal world, on the latent meanings of words, and so on, which but for his interest in them would have remained absolutely unknown.

Rudra Chandra Deva, one of the Rajas of Kumaon, a contemporary of Akbar, wrote a work on Falconry entitled *Śyainika Śāstra* which Shastriji edited for the Bibliotheca Indica and translated into English. Lord Curzon was much interested in this work and called it 'an extremely interesting book'. Shastriji also translated into English the *Gautama Sūtras* on the Nyāya System of Philosophy, without the help of a commentary, from the words of the Sūtra, but did not publish it. The publication of the fragments of the *Chatuṣ satikā* of Āryadeva was perhaps the most difficult task Shastri had to perform. Out of about 100 leaves only twenty-three reached his hands, with the original leaf-marks carefully obliterated, and it took him years of study to locate these leaves into their

proper chapters, before finally publishing the same in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In the Durbar Library of Nepal, Shastri discovered an unknown mahākāvya entitled *Saundarananda* which proved to be by no less a poet and philosopher than Āśvaghoṣa, the Guru of Kaniṣka. It was a twin to his *Buddhacarita*. It was unknown even in China and Tibet, though in Hindu and Jain literature occasional quotations from it were found. This was also published by him in the Bibliotheca Indica with the necessary critical apparatus.

The *Rāmācarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī is also a discovery of Shastri. It is the only historical work in Sanskrit concerning Eastern India yet discovered. The task of editing it was extremely difficult as it was throughout in double entendre—giving the history of Rāmāpāla, king of Bengal on the one hand, and the story of the Rāmāyaṇa on the other. Fortunately, a canto and a half out of four cantos were accompanied by an excellent commentary supposed to be by the author himself.

In 1899, Shastri made the startling discovery that in Bengal nearly a third of the Hindu population are still Buddhists without knowing that they are so. These people worship a deity named Dharma, which is no other than the second deity of the Buddhist Triad. The worship is conducted by non-Brahmins and the Mantras are full of Buddhist ideas. This discovery was greatly appreciated by scholars. Shastri published a pamphlet entitled 'Discovery of living Buddhism in Bengal' on the subject. He also discovered a remnant of the Zoroastrian fire-worship still existing in a corner of Rajputana (Osia). It is the worship of a lamp, fed with ghee, which has been kept burning by a body of monks for centuries.

In his paper entitled 'Who were the Śuṅgas' he announced the discovery that the Śuṅgas who destroyed the Maurya empire, were Brahmins professing the Śamaveda who were greatly discontented by Āśoka's prohibition of all animal sacrifices.

In 1928, June, before he went to Lahore to preside over the 5th Session of the Oriental Conference he met with an accident and sustained a fracture of the femur bone in the right leg, and this was soon found to be incurable. This

crippled him a great deal and he became confined mostly to his house. Even this the Mahāmahopādhyāya took very cheerfully and he used to say humorously that he got this punishment for his useless movements and staying out of his legitimate work, that is his cataloguing.

After that accident he had been working very strenuously at home daily, carefully dividing his time for the different types of work he had in hand. He worked at times for 16 or 17 hours per day. On the day of his death (17th November, 1931) he had worked for 17 hours, he felt tired, took his meagre meals at night, 10-30, and retired to sleep at 15 minutes to 11 P.M. At about 11 he felt uneasy, called in his grandsons and told them that his worldly sports were over. His breathing became hard, he perspired, drank a little water and turned on his side to sleep for ever. The whole affair was over in about five minutes, there could be found no signs of agony, no signs of death pangs on his face. He had always a great hatred for medicines, and his last moment was such that not a drop of this substance was needed.

I should like to add here a little on the personal side of the Mahāmahopādhyāya whom I had the privilege to know as a personal friend. Shastriji was a stoic in appearance, and a man of very few words to strangers. But amongst friends, who were few, he was highly humorous, and was extremely tender to friends. I recall to-day his eyes dimmed with affection the day I was leaving Calcutta to take residence at Patna, now 18 years ago. Never before and never after I saw those eyes so tender again.

Shastriji was an orthodox Brahmin in social life. But he was absolutely free in his thought. I did not come to know what his personal belief or worship was. If he had any, it was purely personal. I came to know him in 1912, and since then I never noticed him depressed or worried on account of any personal matter.

His greatest saying that I remember was: 'It is a matter of fortune to be superseded in research, for it denotes progress in our science and knowledge'. He never negotiated peace with the people he disliked. His sarcasms were withering.

His standard of morality was uncompromising, and he gave up friendships where he found a falling-off.

In letter-writing he was extremely happy in his language and always pithy.

Shastriji knew much more than he could put on paper, although he has contributed very largely to Indology. He was at best when he gave a survey—political, social, literary, or progress of research in various branches. His public addresses, both in Bengali and English, will illustrate this. To this class belongs his text-book of Indian history which was used in schools some decades back. But his surveys at private conversations were marvellous. He could give almost cinematographic pictures covering centuries. I have never seen another scholar so encyclopædic and so narrative and at the same time so graphic in relating branch studies or ensemble syntheses. He could not reproduce those effects in his writings.

An honourable man in every sense, and an honour to Hindu scholarship was Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri. His writings will give food for years to come to scholars that are to come after him. And his countrymen will gratefully remember him, and Indian scholars will remember him as a tradition.

K. P. J.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—Mahenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization.

I. THE INDUS SCRIPT.

The official account of Archæological Excavations at Mahenjo-Daro carried out by the Government of India between the years 1922 and 1927 has been edited by Sir John Marshall in three volumes, with plan and map in colours, and 164 plates in collotype.¹ The co-ordination of the labours of numerous scholars has produced a sound and successful book, thoroughly worth reading and admirably readable. It covers some of the greatest epochs of human and Indian history, and presents a valuable summary of the results of the latest archæological and historical research bearing on the antiquity of Indian civilization—‘So far, then as Mahenjo-Daro is concerned, there appears to be no sufficient reason for pushing the *terminus a quo* of its antiquities earlier than 3250 B.C. At the same time it is evident—and I should like to stress this point once again—that the culture represented must have had a long antecedent history on the soil of India, taking us back to an age that at present can only be dimly surmised.’ (Vol. I, p. 106.)

This Indus civilization, unrelated to the Vedic which was neither the progenitor nor the lineal descendant of the Indus civilization (Vol. I, p. 111), bears close resemblance to Second Pre-diluvian culture of Elam and Mesopotamia and to the proto-historic culture of Sumer (Vol. I, p. 102). Individual objects (e.g., seals) afford proof of intercourse between Indus Valley, Mesopotamia and Elam (p. 103). Separate series of notes would be necessary to deal with these objects individually. The present notes are confined to a consideration of the script.

The script consists of 288 pictographs running from right to left. They are yet to be deciphered. As regards their origin, the conclusions put forward are:—

¹ Mahenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization: Arthur Probsthain, London, 1931.

(a) 'In fact, I am unable to see how anyone can even tentatively hold a resemblance between the Brāhmī alphabet and the Phoenician, and the positive assertion of the correctness of this theory is entirely unwarranted.' (Langdon, Vol. II, p. 431.)

(b) 'The writer believes that the syllabic alphabet of Northern India, known as the Brāhmī script, from which all later characters were derived, is most probably a survival of the early pictographic system of the Indus Valley.' (Vol. II, p. 427.)

(c) 'In all these widely spread epigraphical material, ranging from the upper to the lower parts of the Indus Valley, and to ancient Sumer and Elam, there is not a single text which differs in archaic style from the others. The epigraphist has no scope for studying the evolution of the script. It represents a standardized and advanced stage even at this early period, and the existence of the accents reveals the astonishing care and knowledge of phonetic principles which would hardly be conceded to the scribes of this remote period. *** The Mesopotamian seals are also decisive on the problem of chronology. Lagash and Umma disappear from history before 2000 B.C., and three of these seals were found there. If inscriptions of no other type are found in the excavations of the Indus Valley, then we must suppose that the history of this fine civilization ends with these monuments, and the vast expanse of years between that catastrophe and the invasion of the Āryans is filled with uncertain tradition. If, however, this script was preserved and finally issued into the alphabet of the Buddhistic period, it proves that the Āryans must have had intimate contact with these founders of culture in India. In any way we may look at the problem, the Āryans in India are far more ancient than history admits. Their migration across Anatolia, where traces of them are found in the inscriptions of the Hittite capital, as early as the seventeenth century, is an hypothesis entirely contradictory to the new situation revealed by these discoveries in the Indus Valley. Far more likely it is that the Āryans in India are the oldest representatives of the Indo-Germanic race.' (Langdon, Vol. II, pp. 431-32.)

As regards decipherment:—

(d) 'Working with the present material, I suggest to Sanskrit scholars that they choose the names of a few mythical heroes and of deities, and with the few identifications here made attempt to separate the constantly recurring groups of signs and compare them with these names.'

(e) 'It is necessary to resign further investigation to Sanskrit scholars.' (Vol. II, p. 424.)

(f) 'Three assumptions may be made:—

- (i) That the writing is, at least, in part, syllabic.
- (ii) That the seal-inscriptions are, in general, names.
- (iii) That these names belong to an ancient Indo-Āryan language.

Each one of the above conclusions and assumptions proves once more how scholars who declined to disregard Indian tradition achieved sounder results, in spite of violent, often virulent criticism.

Thus (a) was demonstrated by Jayaswal, years ago in J.B.O.R.S., after a penetrating analysis of the Brāhmī alphabet, almost in identical terms—'I am convinced that all attempts to derive the Brāhmī alphabet from Semitic alphabets were complete failures.' (Langdon, Vol. II, p. 424.)

(b) Much of the opposition to Jayaswal's identification of the two pre-Mauryan images from Patna, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (J.B.O.R.S., 1918) was based on an unthinking prejudice against earlier stages of pre-Aśokan Brāhmī.

(c) Pargiter challenged the current theory of an Āryan migration across Anatolia and invasion through the North-West into India, as early as 1922, in his 'Ancient Indian Historical Tradition', cf. pp. 301-302, 'Indian Tradition suggests a reverse origin for the Iranians, which is linguistically tenable, which harmonises with the Boghazkeui treaty, and which can account for their language and religion.' (Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 302.)

The appeal to Sanskritists in (d), (e) and (f) is mainly an appeal to the Purāṇas. The response of the Purāṇas is not unhelpful. It lies in the origin and subsequent history of the race of Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu.

Cf. Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Liṅga, Kūrma, Padma and Bhāgavata Purāṇas; Mbh. iii, 273, 15881 to 274, 15896: Rām. vii, 2 to 5 and 9.

‘Tell me’, asked Vaiśampāyana, ‘the history of the offspring of Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu.’ Sūta said :—

Of the descendants of Sumāli, the Paulastya Asuras in the line of Viśravas were great followers of Śiva. After their defeat in the great war between the Asuras and the Gods, some of them migrated to the east near Vaiśālī. All the Paulastyas went to the South. Rāvaṇa the Śaiva led one branch and founded the city of Lāṅkā. Others followed the sea-course to the east and to the west. Another line went across land to the west where beyond the *White Mountain*, they are flourishing now.

Read for Sumāli—Sumerians, for the land of the Pulastis—Palestine, and the connection of the Vedic Paṇis with the land of the Phoenicians would lose its unintelligibility, cf. Rawlinson, *History of Phoenicia*, p. 379: ‘Again several letters were made to serve for two sounds, as *beth* for *b* and *v*, *pe* for both *p* and *f*, etc.’ As regards the White Mountain,—‘But the great range of Phoenicia, its glory and its boast is Lebanon. Lebanon, the “White Mountain”—“the Mont Blanc of Palestine”—now known as “the Old White-headed Man” (Jebel-esh-Sheik), or “the Mountain of Ice” (Jebel-el-Tilj), was to Phoenicia at once its protection, the source of its greatness, and its crowning beauty.’ (Rawlinson, *ibid.*, p. 14.)

‘This is cultural evidence that no Semitic influence can be found at Jemdet Nasr. The names of the deities found on the pictographic tablets are all well-known Sumerian gods, and so is every one of the signs.’¹

The worship of Śiva is writ large over the ruins at Mahenjo-Daro (Vol. I, pp. 52-6).

This connection of the Asuras and the Āryas at earlier and later stages adds significance and plausibility to the final remarks of Langdon :—‘If the two main hypotheses be assumed as true, (1) the identity of the Sumerian and Indus signs, (2) the derivation of the Brāhmī characters from the Indus signs, then it

¹ Report on Excavations at Jemdet Nasr, Iraq, 1931, p. 223.

must follow that the Āryan Sanskritists gave values derived from their own language to these characters. In other words they knew the ideographic meanings, translated them into Sanskrit, and derived the syllabic values from the Sanskrit words.'¹

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.

¹ Mahenjo-Daro, Vol. II, p. 455.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's office on Sunday, April 24th, 1932.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (Vice-President).
Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.
Mr. Sham Bahadur.
Mr. H. Lambert.
Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.
Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.
Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on March 6th, 1932.

2. Passed the monthly account for March, 1932, and the annual account for 1931-32, submitted by the Hon. Treasurer.

3. Passed the revised Budget for 1932-33.

4. Considered the Budget for 1933-34.

Resolved that the reductions in income and expenditure shown in the Budget for 1933-34 be restored in all cases.

Passed the Budget for 1933-34 as amended.

5. Read letter No. 781 from the Allahabad Bank, Patna, dated April 20th.

Passed a resolution authorizing the Hon. Treasurer to withdraw the sum of Rs. 6,107-0-3 from Fixed Deposit with the Allahabad Bank.

6. Resolved that the pay of the Mithila Pandit and of the Office Pandit be reduced by 10 per cent. with effect from April 1st, 1932.

7. Sanctioned payment of the following bills:—

						Rs. A. P.		
Baptist Mission Press Bill No.	3024	..	..	..	..	812	15	6
"	"	"	"	3025	..	52	0	0
"	"	"	"	3026	..	4	6	0
"	"	"	"	3027	..	11	2	0
"	"	"	"	3028	..	4	14	0
"	"	"	"	3029	..	9	12	0
"	"	"	"	3030	..	6	14	0
"	"	"	"	3031	..	45	12	0
"	"	"	"	3032	..	23	8	0
"	"	"	"	3033	..	6	14	0
TOTAL						978	1	6

8. Read the Second Circular of the VII International Congress of Historical Sciences, Warsaw.

Resolved that the Society regrets its inability to send a representative.

J. L. HILL,

26th April, 1932.

Honorary General Secretary.

Annual Account, 1931-32.

242

ANNUAL ACCOUNT.

[J.B.O.R.S.]

INCOME.			EXPENDITURE.		
	Actual. Rs. A. P.	Budget. Rs. A. P.		Actual. Rs. A. P.	Budget. Rs. A. P.
Establishment ..	1,000 0 0	1,000 0 0	Establishment ..	1,403 11 8	1,400 4 0
Mithila Pandit ..	1,360 0 0	1,360 0 0	Mithila Pandit ..	1,394 14 6	1,423 12 0
Oriya Pandit ..	595 0 0	1,020 0 0	Oriya Pandit ..	1,009 9 3	990 5 4
Sale of Journal to Government ..	2,500 0 0	2,500 0 0	Printing charges ..	4,406 3 0	3,800 0 0
Library ..	1,000 0 0	1,000 0 0	Government press bill ..	...	3,550 9 0
Subscription ..	1,666 1 0	2,000 0 0	Library ..	515 8 7	350 0 0
Sale of Journal to Public ..	1,712 8 1	750 0 0	Telephone ..	225 0 0	225 0 0
Postage recovered ..	19 5 0	30 0 0	Postage ..	370 13 6	400 0 0
Miscellaneous ..	7,447 15 9	....	Stationery ..	66 12 0	90 0 0
Sale of Mithila Manuscript ..	8 12 0	....	Furniture ..	12 9 6	85 11 0
Sale of Purnea Report ..	7 8 0	....	Electrical charges ..	269 12 0	360 0 0
TOTAL ..	17,317 1 10	....	Miscellaneous ..	6,837 9 3	300 0 0
			Mayurbhanj Fund ..	403 5 10	....
			TOTAL ..	16,915 13 1	...
1. Sale of Journal includes :—					
(a) Messrs. Luzac's cheque returned ..	213 12 0	0			
(b) Actual ..	1,498 12 1	1			
2. Miscellaneous includes :—					
(a) F.D. released ..	4,000 0 0	0	1. Miscellaneous includes :—		
(b) Interest ..	3,135 6 0	0	(a) Messrs. Luzac's cheque returned ..	213 12 0	0
(c) Actual ..	69 5 9	9	(b) To Bank F.D. ..	6,000 0 0	0
	141 0 9	9	(c) Refund to Government from Library ..	325 0 0	0
	102 3 3	3	(d) Actual expenditure ..	298 13 3	3
TOTAL ..	7,447 15 9	9	TOTAL ..	6,837 9 3	3
			Opening Balance ..	1,560 0 8	
			Income ..	17,317 1 10	
			TOTAL ..	18,877 2 6	
			Expenditure ..	16,915 13 1	
			Closing Balance ..	1,961 5 5	

S. BAHADUR, *Honorary Treasurer.*

Transliteration of the Devanagari Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

Devanāgarī.	Roman.	Devanāgarī.	Roman.
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
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च	ch	' (Anusvāra)	m̐
छ	chh	' (Anunāsika)	m̐
ज	j	: (Visarga)	ḥ
झ	jh	×	(Jihvāmūliya) ḥ
ञ	ñ) ((Upadhmanīya)	h̐
ट	ṭ	₡ (Avagraha)	'
ठ	ṭh	Udātta	—
ड	ḍ	Svarita	˘
ढ	ḍh	Anudātta	˙
ण	ṇ		

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY ON 31st DECEMBER, 1931.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
1	Foucher, Monsieur A ..	1919	Professor, University of Paris, Paris.
2	Frazer, Sir James G., D.C.L., LL.D., LITT.D.	1916	Trinity College, Cambridge, England.
3	Gait, Sir E. A., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., PH.D., I.C.S. (Retd.).	1920	The Croft, Park Hill, Ealing, London.
4	Grierson, Sir George, K.C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., I.C.S. (Retd.).	1916	Rath Farnham, Camberley, Surrey, England.
5	Haddon, Alfred C., M.A., SC.D., F.R.S.	1916	3, Cranmer Road, Cambridge.
6	Jacobi, Dr. Hermann ..	1925	Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, Bonn, Germany.
7	Jolly, Prof. J. ..	1925	Professor of Comparative Philology, Wurzburg.
8	Konow, Dr. Sten ..	1920	Ethnographic Museum, Oslo, Norway.
9	Levi, M. Sylvain ..	1919	Professor of Sanskrit, University of Strasbourg, Strasbourg.
10	Oldham, C. E. A. W., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.).	1926	21, Courtfield Road, London, S.W. 7.
11	Thomas, F. W., M.A., Hon. PH.D., F.R.S.	1919	Boden Professor of Sanskrit, University of Oxford.
12	Walsh, E. H. C., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.).	1919	c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, London, S.W.

LIFE MEMBERS.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
1	Das, Mr. P. R., Bar.-at-Law	1918	Patna.
2	Deo, Raja Dharnidhar Indra	1917	Feudatory Chief of Bonai State, P.O., Bonaigarh (Orissa).
3	Deo, Raja Narayana Prasad	1929	Ruling Chief of Baudh State.
4	Dharmapala, The Rev. Anagarika.	1918	4-A, College Square, Calcutta.
5	Jalan, Rai Bahadur Radhakrishna.	1918	Patna City.
6	Maharaja Bahadur Guru Mahadeva Asram Prasad Sahi.	1920	Hathwa (Saran).
7	Prasad, Mr. Ajit, M.A., LL.B.	1928	Advocate, Lucknow.
8	Raja R. N. Bhanja Deo ..	1918	Kanika (Orissa).
9	Shah, Mr. Hiralal Amritlal	1918	Princess Street, Champai Buildings, 2nd floor, Bombay.
10	Shahi, Lieut. Madhavasworendra.	1924	Manjha, District Saran.
11	Singh, Raja Raghunandan Prasad.	1924	Monghyr.
12	Singh, Rai Bahadur Harihar Prasad.	1916	Arrah.
13	Singh, Raja Radhikaraman Prasad, M.A.	1916	Surajpura (Shahabad).
14	Singh, Maharaja Bahadur Sir Keshava Prasad, C.B.E.	1916	Dumraon (Shahabad).
15	Sinha, Mr. Mahendra Prasad	1928	Assistant Settlement Officer, Cuttack.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
A			
1	Acharya, P., B.Sc. ..	1928	Senior Archæological Scholar, Mayurbhanj State.
2	Ahmad, Hafiz Shamsuddin, M.A.	1927	Patna College, Patna.
3	Aiyangar, R. S. Dr. Krishna-swami, M.A., Ph.D.	1916	43, Brodies Road, Mylapore, Madras.
4	Aiyangar, R. B. K. V. Rangaswami.	1915	Maharaja's College, Trivandrum, Travancore.
5	Armour, Prof. J. S., M.A. ..	1926	Patna College, Patna.
B			
6	Batheja, Prof. H. R., M.A., I.E.S.	1920	Patna College, Patna.
7	Bhandarkar, Dr. D. R. ..	1924	35, Ballygunge, Circular Road, Calcutta.
8	Bhattacharya, Benoytosh ..	1924	Director, Oriental Institute, Kothi Buildings, Baroda.
9	Bhattacharya, Prof. Tara-pada, M.A.	1927	B.N. College, Patna.
10	Bhide, H. B. ..	1918	Dewanpur Road, Navapark, Bhawanagar.
11	Bodding, Rev. P. O. ..	1918	Mohulpahari, Santal Parganas.
12	Bose, Anant Kumar ..	1931	Kadamkuan, Patna.
13	Bose, Phanindra Nath ..	1928	Nalanda College, Bihar Sharif.
C			
14	Carr, Paul Roland ..	1928	3923, Packard Street, Long Island City, N.Y., U.S.A.
15	Chakladar, Haran Chandra, M.A.	1916	28-4, Sri Mohan Lane, Kali-ghat, Calcutta.

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1	2	3	4
16	Chaube, Ram Kumar ..	1931	Azmatgarh Palace, Benares.
17	Chaudhuri, G. K. ..	1928	Ballipur P.O., Darbhanga.
18	Chaudhuri, Dr. Tarapada, M.A.	1927	Prof., Patna College, Patna.
19	Chaudhuri, P., I.C.S. ..	1931	S.D.O., Bihar Sharif, Patna.
20	Christian, H. D. ..	1920	Superintendent, Gangpur State, Orissa.
21	Coomaraswamy, Dr. Anand K.	1923	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.
D			
22	Das, Kali Prasad ..	1929	Barh, District Patna.
23	Das, Kasinath, M.A. ..	1925	Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.
24	Das, Madhusudan, B.A., B.L.	1918	Bhubanpur, P.O. Nimapara, Puri.
25	Das, U. K.	1918	Srinath Mills, 10, Srinath Das Lane, Calcutta.
26	Datta, Kalikinkar, M.A. ..	..	Lecturer, Patna College, Patna.
27	Dayal, Shiveshwar, M.A., B.L.	1920	Vakil, Patna High Court.
28	Deo, Maharaja Sir Bir Mitrodaya Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E.	1920	The Palace, Sonapur.
29	Deo, Tekait Nripendra Narayan Singh.	1928	Seraikela State, Singhbhum.
30	Deshpande, R. S. G. K. ..	1927	Bishramdham, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
31	Dhruva, A. B., M.A.	Principal, Hindu University, Benares.
E			
Nil.			

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No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
	F		
32	Fawcus, G. E., M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.	1916	Director of Public Instruction, Patna.
33	Filgate, T. R., C.I.E. ..	1915	c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, London, S.W. I.
	G		
34	Ghosh, Adhar Chandra, B.Sc.	1927	Assistant Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
35	Ghosh, Rai Sahib Manoranjan, M.A.	1918	Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
36	Godbole, Y. A., I.C.S. ..	1920	Deputy Commissioner, Daltonganj.
37	Gupta, Shiva Prasad ..	1918	Nagva House, Benares City.
	H		
38	Heras, Rev. H., S.J., M.A. ..	1927	St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
39	Hill, J. H., M.A.	1930	Patna College, Patna.
40	Hussain, Saiyid Muhammad, M.L.C.	1924	Dariapur, P.O. Bankipur, Patna.
	I		
41	Imam, Nawab Shamsul Ulema Saiyid Imdad.	1915	Neora, Patna.
	J		
42	Jagadeb, Sri Sri Sri Gopinath Harichandan, Raja Bahadur, M.R.A.S., M.B.D.M.	1924	P.O. Tekkali, Ganjam.
43	Jagadeb, Sri Sri Sri Lakshminarayana Harichandan, Raja Bahadur.	1929	Ditto.

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1	2	3	4
44	James, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W., I.C.S.	1923	High Court, Patna.
45	Jaruhar, Rameshwar Prasad	1925	Kadamkuan, Patna.
46	Jayaswal, K. P., M.A., Bar.-at-Law.	1915	Advocate, Patna High Court.
47	Jha, Lakshmikant, B.L. ..	1925	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
48	Jha, Ramakrishna, B.L. ..	1930	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
49	Jinjal, Srinarayan Lal, B.A., B.L.	1928	Oldham Road, Gaya.
K			
50	Khan, K. B. Sarfaraz Hussain	1916	Khawajekalan, Patna City.
51	Khan Bahadur Syd Muhammad Ismail.	1928	Patna City.
52	Khanna, Vinayak Lal ..	1924	Hindu Library, 3, Nandlal Malik's Lane, Calcutta.
53	Kimura, R.	1920	22, Wellesley 2nd Lane, Calcutta.
54	Kuraishi, Muhammad Hamid, B.A.	1923	Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.
L			
55	Lall, Rai Bahadur Hira ..	1918	Retired Deputy Commissioner, Katni, C.P.
56	Lall, Rai Sahib Bihari ..	1920	Prime Minister, Chhuikadan State, Via Dongargarh, C.P.
57	Lall, Raja P. C. ..	1924	Raja of Nazarganj, Purnea City.
58	Lambert, H., M.A., I.E.S. ..	1920	Patna.
59	Law, Dr. Narendra Nath, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.	1924	96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
	M		
60	Mackenzie, W.	1916	Superintendent, Government Printing, Gulzarbagh, Patna.
61	Macpherson, Hon'ble Justice, Mr. T. S., C.I.E., I.C.S.	1916	Patna.
62	McPherson, Sir H., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S (Retd.).	1915	c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., Ltd., 54, Parliament Street, London, S.W. I.
63	Mahapatra, Chaudhuri Bhagvat Prasad Samantarai.	1924	P.O. Bhadrak, Balasore.
64	Mahashaya Rai Bahadur Harendra Narayan Ray.	1915	Lakshannath, Balasore.
65	Mahatha, Rai Bahadur Krishna Deva Narayan.	1920	Muzaffarpur.
66	Majumdar, Dr. R. C.	1920	Dacca University, Dacca.
67	Majumdar, Bimanbehari . .	1927	B.N. College, Patna.
68	Malaviya, Pandit Balagovinda.	1924	Patna City.
69	Manuk, P. C., Bar.-at-Law	1920	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
70	Mehta, N. C., I.C.S.	1927	Azamgarh.
71	Metropolitan, The Most Rev.	....	The Palace, Bishop's House, 51, Chowringhee, Calcutta.
72	Miller, Sir T. Dawson, K.T. . .	1919	11, King's Bench Walk Temple, E.C., London.
73	Mishra, Pandit Janardan, M.A.	1927	B.N. College, Patna.
74	Mitra, K. P., M.A., B.L. . . .	1920	D.J. College, Monghyr.
75	Mukerji, Prof. A	1929	10, Bol. Guozdnikovsky, Apt. 202X, Moscow.
	N		
76	Nahar, Puranchand, M.A., B.L.	1917	1/8, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
77	Noor, K. B. Khwaja Muham-mad.	1915	Gaya.
	O		
	Nil.		
	P		
78	Panda, R. Ch., L.M.P. ..	1931	Medical Officer, Parikud, Puri.
79	Pandeya, Sahadeva Narayan, M.A.	1925	S.I. Schools, Madhepura, Bhagalpur.
80	Pantulu, J. Ramayya, B.A., B.L.	1915	Mukteswaram, Tottarmundi P.O., Godavari District.
81	Pantulu Garu Srinivas Rao, M.A., L.T., M.R.R.Y.	1928	Principal, Hindu College, Masulipatam.
82	Patnaik, Sudhakar ..	1921	Sub-Deputy Collector, Balasore.
83	Peppe, A. T.	1915	Manager, Chota Nagpur Raj, Ranchi.
84	Perier, Most Rev. F. J., S.J.	1915	Archbishop of Calcutta, 32, Park Street, Calcutta.
85	Petter, A. B.	1915	Deputy Magistrate, Gaya.
86	Prasad, Biswanath, M.A. ..	1928	c/o Babu Tribeni Prashad, B.L., Vakil, Chapra.
87	Prasad, Hon'ble Justice Sir Jwala, K.T.	1916	High Court, Patna.
88	Prasad, Kamta	1930	Professor of Physics, Science College.
89	Prasad, Krishnadeva, M.A., B.L.	1929	Langertoli, Patna.
90	Prasad, Mahabir, B.L. ..	1926	Pleader, Chapra.
91	Prasad, Nageswar, M.A., B.L.	1928	Vakil, Patna.

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1	2	3	4
92	Prasad, Surya Prasad Mahajan. Q Nil. R	1918	Manulal Library, Gaya.
93	Ramdas, G., B.A. ..	1924	Headmaster, Board High School, Jeypur, Vizagapatam.
94	Ranganathan, S. R. ..	1927	Librarian, Madras University, Madras.
95	Ratnakar, Jagannath Das	1928	Shivalaya Ghat, Benares.
96	Ray, Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal	1915	Patna.
97	Ray, Rai Bahadur S. C., M.A., B.L., M.L.C.	1915	Ranchi.
98	Richards, F. J. ..	1924	6, Lexham Gardens, London, W. 8.
99	Rohatgi, Binayakrishna ..	1925	Dhaulpura Kothi, Begampur, Patna City.
100	Ross, Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. L. S	1917	Patna.
101	Sabanis, R.V. ..	1925	Librarian, Bombay University, Bombay.
102	Sahay, Shyamnandan, B.A.	1928	Sahay Bhavan, Muzaffarpur.
103	Saheb Bhubaneswar Singh	1930	Kamalalaya, Muzaffarpur.
104	Sarkar, Ganpati ..	1926	69, Beliaghatta Road, Calcutta.
105	Sarkar, Jadunath, M.A., I.E.S., (Retd.), C.I.E.	1915	Sarkaravas, Darjeeling.
106	Sarkar, Dr. Subimal C. ..	1930	Professor of History, Patna College.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
107	Sarma, Srikanta ..	1930	Zilla School, Monghyr.
108	Sen, D. N., M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.)	1916	Principal, B. N. College, Patna.
109	Seppings, E. H. L. ..	1916	Innes Road, P.O. Kem-mendine, Rangoon.
110	Sham Bahadur	1928	Bar.-at-Law, Patna.
111	Shastri, Dr. A Banerji, M.A., P.H.D.	1923	Patna College, Patna.
112	Shastri, Dr. Harichand, D.LITT., I.E.S.	1918	Ditto.
113	Shastri, I. D. Durgadatti ..	1920	Superintendent, Sanskrit Association, Patna.
114	Shastri, Prof. Gokulchand ..	1928	Sri-Chandra College, Khat-mandu, Bagbazar, Nepal.
115	Shaw, Parmanand ..	1926	Daldary Bazar, Dinapore Cantt.
116	Singh, Rai Brajabihari Saran, M.A., B.L.	1915	Asst. Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Muzafferpur.
117	Singh, Raja Harihar Prasad Narayan.	1916	Amawan, District Patna.
118	Singh, Raja Bahadur Kirtyanand.	1915	Banaili, Purnea.
119	Singh, Raja Rajendralal, Bariha.	1916	Barsambar, Padampur, Sambalpur.
120	Singh, R. B. Ramranavijaya	1924	K. V. Press, Patna.
121	Singh, Sarangadhar, M.A., B.L.	1925	Ditto.
122	Sinha, Mahendrakishore, B.A., B.L.	1926	Bhaimsa, Dist. Nanded, Hyderabad, Deccan.
123	Sinha, Paras Nath, B.A., LL.B.,	1930	Bharati Publishers, Patna.
124	Sinha, S., Bar.-at-Law ..	1915	Patna.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(concluded).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
125	Sullivan, The Rt. Rev. Dr., S. J.	1929	Lord Bishop, Patna.
126	Surya Narayan, B.L. ..	1924	Translator, High Court, Patna.
127	Svarup, Rai Bahadur Bishun	1920	Mahalla Maithan, Agra.
128	Syed Muhammad ..	1924	Makhaniakuan, P.O. Banki- pur, Patna.
T			
129	Tagore, K. N., B.A. ..	1926	5-1, Baranashi Ghosh's Street, Calcutta.
130	Taraifdar, Rev. S. K. ..	1915	Principal, C.M.S. High School, Bhagalpur.
131	Taraporewala, Y. J. ..	1930	Professor of History, Patna College.
132	Terrell, The Hon'ble Sir Courtney, Kt.	1928	Chief Justice, High Court, Patna.
133	Tripathi Devadatta ..	1916	Patna College, Patna.
134	„ Narayana ..	1930	Secretariat, Patna.
135	Trivedi, Rao Bahadur V. G., LL.B.	1929	Watson Museum, Rajkot.
U			
136	Urdhwaseshi, W. G., M.A. ..	1925	25, Krishnapura, Indore, C.I.
V			
137	Varma, S. P.	1930	Bar.-at-Law, Patna.
138	Vidyalankar, Jaya Chandra	1929	Kasi Vidyapitha, Benares.
139	Vogel, Dr. J., PH.D. ..	1920	Noordeindsplein, 40 Leiden, Holland.

JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.
SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER, 1932.

CONTENTS.

Leading Articles.

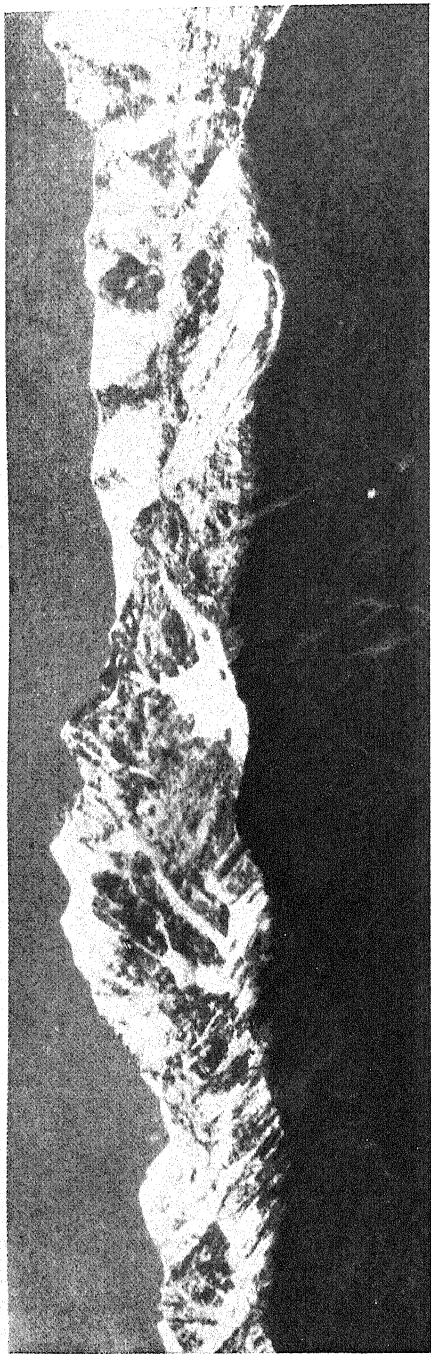
	PAGES
I. The Skirts of Nanda Devi (Continued with 6 plates) <i>By the Vice-President.</i>	255-271
II. Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Kāvārṇnadeva, dated 526 Ganga era (with 4 plates) <i>By G. Ramadas, B.A.</i>	272-295
III. On the extent of Harṣa's Empire <i>By Dr. Rama Shankar Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D. (London).</i>	296-331
IV. Mir Qāsim at Patna, 1761 <i>By Nandalal Chatterji, Lecturer in Indian History, University of Lucknow.</i>	332-352
V. The Study of Folk-lore and Tradition in India <i>By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.</i>	353-381

Miscellaneous Contributions.

I. Note on the Puri Plates of Dharmarāja <i>By the late Professor R. D. Banerji, M.A.</i>	383-385
II. The Tekkali Plates of Śatrubhañja—V.S. 800 (with 4 plates) <i>By the late Professor R. D. Banerji, M.A.</i>	387-390
III. 'Danta', a weapon <i>By K. P. Jayaswal.</i>	391

Reviews and Notices of Books.—By K. P. Jayaswal.

	PAGES
1. Ghāgh aur Bhaḍḍari, edited with translation in Modern Hindi, by Pandit Ramanareṣa Tripāṭhī	393
2. Kavi-rahasya, by Dr. Ganganath Jha ..	393
3. Arab aur Bhārata ke sambandha, translation of an Urdu book, by Syed Sulaimān Nadbī ..	393
4. Social and Economic Condition of Mediæval India, by Mr. A. A. Yusuf Ali (translated in Hindī)	394
5. Madhya-kālīna Bhāratiya saṁskṛiti, by MM. Gaurī Śaṅkara Hirāchand Ojhā ..	394
6. Velī Krisana-Rukamaṇī-rī, by Prathirāja Rāṭhaur, translated in Modern Hindī, by Maharajah Jagmangal Singh, with a commentary	394
7. Rock-cut Temples around Bombay, by Mr. Kanhaiya Lal H. Vakil, B.A., LL.B., published by Taraporevala, Sons & Co. ..	395
8. Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the year 1930 (Kern Institute, Leyden) ..	395
9. The Mahābhārata Text, Fasc. 6, edited by Dr. V. S. Sukhthankar, Bhandarkar Institute, Poona	396
10. Rise of the Christian Power in India, 2nd edition, by the late Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S., published by Mr. R. Chatterji, Calcutta	396
11. Jainism in North India, by Chiman Lal J. Shah, M.A., published by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co.	397
12. The Pallava Genealogy, by Rev. H. Heras, S.J., Bombay, Indian Historical Research Institute	398



Trisul from Dhakeri hill.

J. B. O. R. S., 1932.

JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XVIII.]

1932.

[PART III.]

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—The Skirts of Nanda Devi—(*Continued*).

By the Vice-President.

II.

2. *The route to Phurkiyā.*

A journey such as that described by the Schlagintweits, when they travelled from Patna to Kumaon in 1855, is a thing of the distant past; but until the growth of motor transport in comparatively recent years, travellers to the mountains, whether they were visiting the Pindari Glacier or taking less frequented routes, began their march at the terminus of the railway at Kathgodam. For Phurkiyā, or for the Gorigangā valley and the Unādhurā pass, the route lies through Bāgeśwar, which is eighteen miles N.N.W. from Almora as the crow flies, and through Kapkot, fourteen miles farther north by the bank of the Sarju. They had the choice of two alternative routes, of which they usually took one on the outward journey and the other in returning. They could go through Bhim Tal, Ramgarh and Peora to Almora, and thence through Thakulā to Bāgeśwar; or they could take the cart-road through Rānikhet to Majhkali, and from there cross Arideo to Someśwar, which is 13½ miles N.N.E. from Almora

(for a crow), and sixteen miles from Bāgeśwar by the bridle path. That was a pleasant way of travelling; but it made the journey longer. Twenty or thirty years ago, men had been climbing and descending for six days when they reached Bāgeśwar, a fact which should be remembered if travellers who have published accounts of the journey appear to have thought that in ultimately reaching Phurkiyā they had almost arrived at the end of the world.

Until comparatively recently it was customary to take fresh coolies at each stage, so that every day began with some anxiety and loss of time and temper while the coolies were being collected. Dr. Boeck travelled for the greater part of his journey in this manner, actually gathering coolies day by day while he was going across country from the Pindari valley to the Gorigaṅgā; but it is not a manner of travelling to be recommended. The Government Transport Agency at Almora now provides permanent coolies for the whole journey; and the simplest course is to arrange with the Secretary that the requisite number of coolies shall be ready at Almora. Each coolie carries forty pounds for twelve annas a day; and if the baggage can be arranged in proper loads, and a trustworthy man can be sent ahead to Almora to take it out to Someśwar, it is now possible to go by motor-car direct from Kathgodam to Someśwar, thereby saving another day which would otherwise be spent in the lower hills, a matter of some importance to visitors from Bihar, whose time is ordinarily limited. At Katarmal, seven miles from Almora, a good motorable road takes off for Someśwar, so that it is not necessary to go as far as Almora. I have remarked that the old method of doing the journey was more pleasant; but it took time: and as most people who have not unlimited time at their disposal would prefer to spend as much as possible of it beyond the foothills, they take the motor to Almora or Someśwar. For the generality of people, as the Schlagintweits might say, the journey by motor-car is found to be trying and not pleasurable. Every companion with whom I have done that journey has suffered, the youngest most of all; but one of the greatest of modern mountaineers has found journeys by motor-car in

these hills equally trying, which should give some consolation to those who may feel qualms on the road. I myself doubt whether anybody would suffer in a car that was completely open; but whether that is true or not, there is little to choose between the route to Almora and that to Someśwar. The trying parts of the journey occur in the climb up to Rānikhet, and in the descent to Katarmal; the road to Someśwar is easy enough, and one may as well go from Katarmal to Someśwar as to Almora.

If Almora is taken as the starting point, the first march is to the bungalow at Thakulā (5,335), an easy journey of fourteen miles. From there the route to Bāgeśwar is a little over twelve miles, a short descent, followed by a climb to the pass, from which the road to the Sarju is all down hill, ending with a tiring walk of two miles by the bank of the Sarju. From Someśwar (4,548), the route is a little longer, but less tiring, leading over a pass (6,600) and thence by an easy descent to the junction of the Sarju and the Gomati, where Bāgeśwar lies. If arrangements can be made ahead the route by Someśwar is to be preferred. Bāgeśwar (3,200) is a picturesque village, of stone houses adorned with carved wood-work, and stone paved streets, standing at the junction of the Gomati and Sarju, whose blue waters, flecked into pure white as they dash against the boulders which obstruct their passage, are seen from time to time through side-alleys as one passes up the main street. There is here an ancient temple of Śiva¹, built about 1450 A.D., specially sacred from the local legend that this junction of the rivers is the actual place where Mahādeva espoused Pārvati Devī. The bungalow is spacious and comfortable, on the left bank of the Sarju, which here abounds in mahseer, though the fisherman should go lower down, below the junction of the rivers.

Leaving Bāgeśwar, we again cross the suspension bridge to the right bank of the Sarju, which is followed for fourteen miles to Kapkot (3,450), a level march through a beautiful

¹ See Mr. Panna Lal's '*Account of a tour in the Almora District, Himalayas*' (*J.B.O.R.S.*, VI, pp. 361-371).

valley, usually found to be hot. From Kapkot the route continues for a short distance along the right bank, until the river is crossed by a suspension bridge which was built as a memorial to the men of Dhanpur pargana who lost their lives in the Great War. Two and a half miles farther, the left bank becomes precipitous, and the route leaves the Sarju for a short time, for half a mile following the left bank of a tributary stream, which is followed to its source by the traveller for the Gorigāṅgā. The routes diverge at a bridge, where the old signpost 'To Tibet' used to stand. The route to the Pindar valley here skirts a hill, rising to 4,400 feet near the 45th milestone (from Almora), and then descending again to the Sarju, which is crossed for the last time, by a modern bridge a furlong beyond the 46th milestone. The right bank is followed to the 48th milestone, where the route leaves the Sarju, and a steep climb of a mile leads to Loharkhet (5,500), the last village of the outer ranges, and the last with a post-office. The valley of the Sarju has now been left behind, and only the lower slopes of the long ridge running south from Nandā Koṭ remain to be crossed before the Pindar valley is reached. The ridge is crossed, $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Loharkhet, at the Dhakeri pass (9,516), from which an easy descent of half a mile leads to the Dhakeri rest-house (8,870). This march, involving a climb of four thousand feet, is laborious only at the lower levels, and is merely delightful as the pass is approached, with the snows of Nandā Koṭ (22,530) shining ahead, and a beautiful distant view of the perfect pyramid of snow (22,660), flanked by four slightly lower peaks, which lie east of north-east thirty miles away. These are the Panch Chola, in Hindu tradition the corruptible bodies made incorruptible, of the five Pāṇḍava brothers of the Mahābhārata, who gave up their kingdom to climb to the abode of the Gods, and there rejoin their comrades who by death on the field of battle had already won their passport to heaven¹.

¹ I quote from Mr. E. B. Havell's account of the legend, which is illustrated by a striking distant view of this group in his *Himalayas in Indian Art*.

One by one they stumbled and fell, borne down by the consciousness of their faults, until at last the good king Yudhishthira, the eldest of the five brothers, the only one who had never swerved from the path of honour and duty, was left alone with a faithful dog who had followed him and shared all the trials of the pilgrimage. But when Indra, the King of Heaven, appeared to take him up in his shining car, a further proof was demanded of Yudhishthira—the pure precincts of the Devas' courts must never be defiled. Indra bade him leave the unclean dog behind. Yudhishthira declared that to desert a devoted friend, though only a dog, was a sin against Dharma, the inexorable law of righteousness which the Devas themselves must obey. Rather than obey Indra's commands he would renounce the joys of paradise. But as he turned sorrowfully away the dog assumed its real form, that of the god Dharma himself, the pure spirit of Nature, which often thus disguises itself in humble forms to fulfil the purpose of the Lord of Life. Mr. Havell justly remarks that the story illustrates the tendency of Indian thought to transmute æsthetic and ethical ideas; and points out how Dharma was identified with Śiva; and the guardian deity of the Abode of Snow became the symbol of spiritual purity and religious duty.

The wise traveller, who is moderately healthy and strong, will do well to turn to the west a little before the Dhakeri pass is reached and ascend Dhakeri hill. The ascent involves a climb of another thousand feet over down-like country, ascended in a mile; but, paradoxical though it may appear, so far from being fatiguing, it will be found to be so completely easy and delightful that it will remove any sensations of fatigue that may have been felt on the ascent from Loharkhet. I doubt whether there are many places in the world where a thousand feet in a mile can be climbed rapidly with so little consciousness of effort; and the journey is worth undertaking, if only for that remarkable experience. The panorama from the top of the hill is magnificent. Immediately below is the Pindar valley, on the other side of which are glaciers flowing down from the Trisūl group (23,406, 22,490 and 22,360), and from 21,858 and 21,624. The peaks of Trisūl dominate

the landscape; but the peaks of Nandā Devi are concealed, owing to the proximity of the long high snowy ridges of Trīsūl East and Sundardhuṅgā (21,858). South-east of 21,858 is the Pindari Glacier with Nandā Koṭ. More distant on the eastern side, the Panch Chola peaks stand out, with the mountains of Nepal beyond. On the south lie the outer ranges, with Cheena and Lariya Kanta prominent, while beyond are the plains of India. A cairn stands at the summit of Dhakeri, said to have been erected when a Governor visited the place. The first vowel of Dhākeri is long, but the word as always pronounced might be better transliterated as Dhankeri. The ascent from the pass up the grassy slope to the summit crowned with the cairn is not unlike the ascent of Dunkerry in the Exmoor country; and it is probably for this reason that Dhakeri hill has come to be known as the Beacon.

The Dhakeri rest-house (8,870) is a pleasant place, facing the outer snowy ridges of Trīsūl and Nandā Devi. The prospect on the north up to Nandā Koṭ is for the greater part what was seen from the Beacon, though necessarily more limited from the fact that the rest-house is seventeen hundred feet lower: Trīsūl (22,490) and East Trīsūl (22,360), together with 21,858, the Pindari Glacier and Nandā Koṭ; but the highest peak of Trīsūl is not visible from here. The wild raspberry abounds at this elevation in October, similar to the raspberry which abounds in the Alps three thousand feet lower, and two months earlier. It may, so far as my experience has gone, be enjoyed with impunity; and to pick up refreshment in this way as one climbs towards the Dhākeri pass, or up to Diwāli, and to have fresh fruit, not taken out of a tin, certainly adds to the enjoyment of this part of the journey. There is also a wild gooseberry, which should be treated cautiously. The coolies are apt to gorge on it, and this will probably cause trouble when one or more of them are laid out with severe colic. It is embarrassing to the traveller who lacks medical knowledge, when he is travelling in these remote regions, to find that he is expected to show medical skill; but for this form of trouble, heat applied to the agonised region is the safest remedy for the amateur to use: and the

traveller should for this reason not be without hot water bottles, whatever other medical comforts or remedies he may think fit to take with him.

An easy march of five miles leads down to Khati (7,650), the last inhabited village of the valley. The rest-house stands high above the Pindar river, commanding beautiful views of Nandā Kot and the eastern Trisūl peak. From here the traveller who has provided himself with tents can strike across country to the Gorigangā if he pleases; and the traveller who has no tents will probably begin to regret that he has none. Dr. Boeck, after he had been weather-bound at Phurkiyā for a fortnight, travelled from here across country to Lilam, by Mikila and Namik, taking a long time over the journey, and suffering badly on the way, because he had to travel low in order to pick up his transport from day to day, in the fashion which ruled in his time; and it has always appeared more remarkable to me that he got through in this way at all than that he took a long time in doing it. There is a high level route, known to the men of Johar, from Baugdiar in the Gorigangā valley (8,550), by the Poting Glacier and the slopes of 19,554, which should be interesting; but of course not possible if transport were to be picked up day by day.

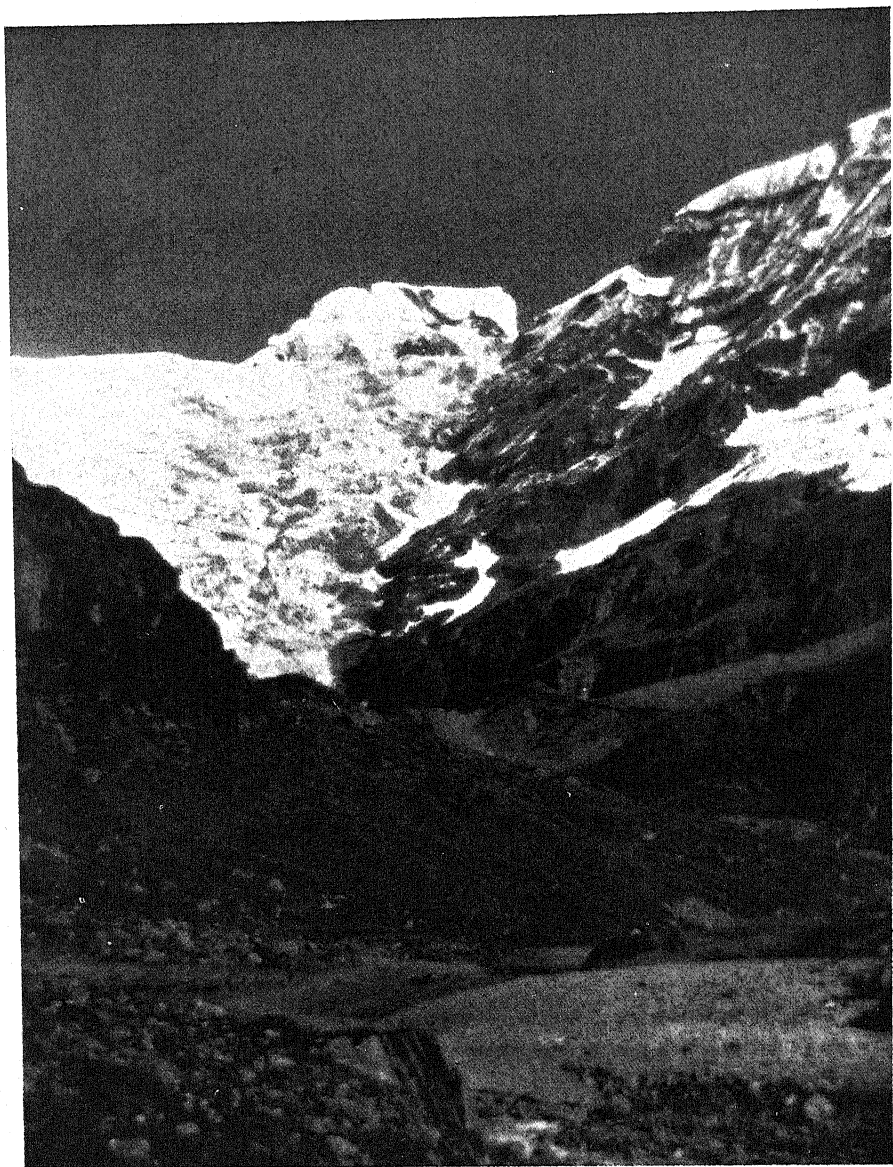
The journey to the Pindari Glacier is generally regarded as so exceptionally easy because it can be accomplished without tents; and because it is ordinarily done in this way, a large proportion of those who do it lament their lost opportunities when they record their experiences in the Phurkiyā log-book. The art of making very light and easily portable tents has been brought to such perfection in India that very little is saved by travelling without them; so easily carried, so quickly and easily pitched, and affording such complete freedom in the mountains that to travel without them is mistaken economy.

Many travellers pass Khati by, and go straight from Dhākeri to Diwālī (9,000), which though it is a double march, is only ten miles in all, and easier than many of the regular stages. The route from Khati lies by the Pindar river, which is twice crossed on the way. Near Diwālī the right bank is high and steep; and the tributaries of the Pindar

descend in cascades of wonderful beauty. Mr. Campbell Forrester photographed one of the waterfalls; but as he truly says, no photograph could give the faintest impression of its beauty. He was not the first or the last to discover that. The delicate beauty of these waterfalls, which must be seen to be realised, gains in impressiveness to the eye from the great height of the fall; but the camera cannot reproduce the play of colour which occurs when at every five hundred feet or so the falling water strikes a projecting rock; and in any photograph the immensity of the fall tends to make the volume of water, which is considerable, appear insignificant. To include a man, standing by the foot of the fall, might possibly give some impression of its size; but I think that these wonderful falls would bring to despair an artist seeking 'composition'. There are some beauties of nature which are beyond the capacity of art to reproduce or adequately suggest.

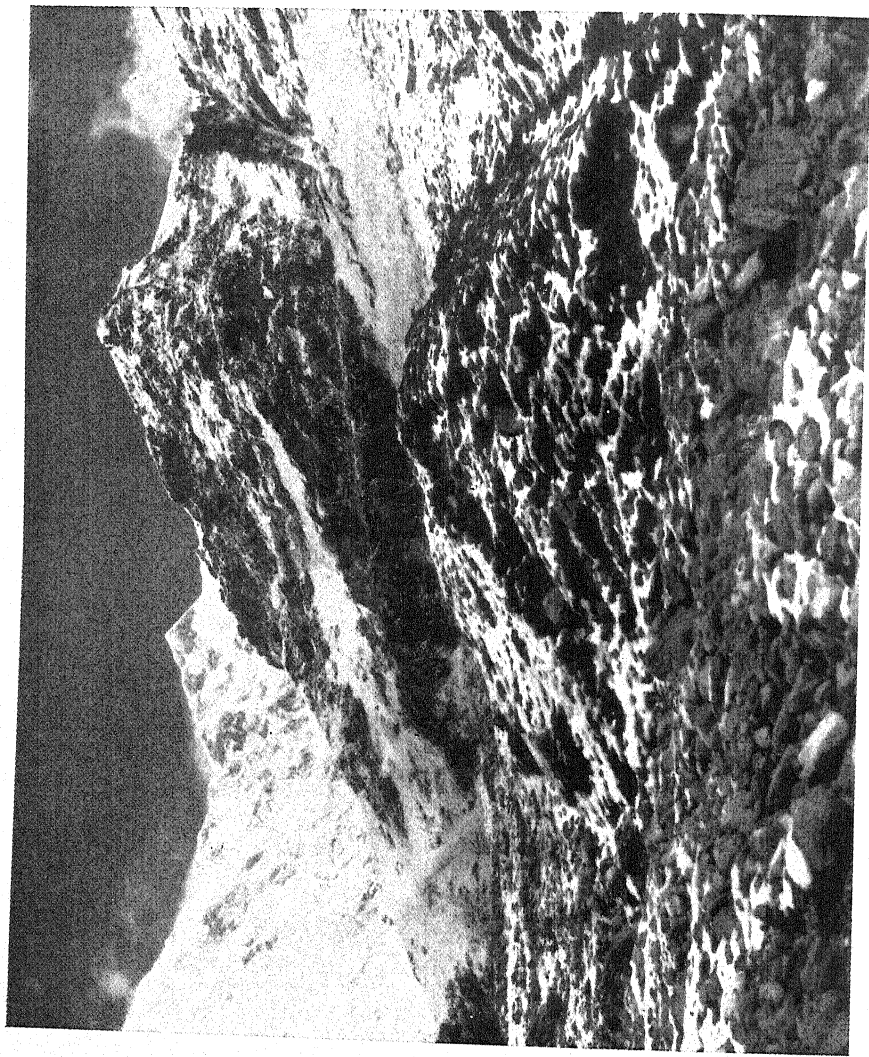
Diwāli stands at the junction of the Kuphini and the Pindar rivers. The Pindar valley henceforth runs almost due north; and in favourable conditions the eastern peak of Nandā Devi here comes into view. Four miles farther up the valley is Phurkiyā (10,000), where is the last of the rest-houses.

Whatever the traveller without tents may have thought at Khati, he will find cause to regret his lack of them at Diwāli, since the lack of them will confine his exploration of the Kuphini valley to a mere dash out and back from Diwāli. The bed of the Kuphini in its lower reaches presents a curious appearance of desolation, covered with the debris of avalanches. The snout of the glacier is at 12,650 feet, about seven miles from Diwāli, by a rough and steep track, which has the merit of never descending appreciably, so that every step is something actually gained in height. From the fifth mile to the foot of the ice-fall (13,050) a succession of roomy plateaux afford excellent camping grounds; and the higher valley is beautiful. The glacier, fed on the east by subsidiary glaciers from 19,554, descends from Nandā Koṭ, which stands out above the ice-fall. The appearance of the right lateral moraine suggests that a route to the highest névé of Nandā Koṭ might here be found, but the appearance may be deceptive.



The Kuphni Glacier and Nanda Kor.

J. B. O. R. S., 1932.



The Pindari Glacier < left lateral moraine>.

Monal are common on the moraines of this valley. In the October of 1931, we came on the fresh footmarks of a large tiger in the sand of the Kuphini at 12,000 feet. He must have been living a hard life if he was subsisting on baral and tahr; but there was nothing else there for him to find. Baral have been shot on the Pindari Glacier, but very rarely; and they are not common in these valleys. The tahr is much more common; a group is ordinarily to be seen in the evening on some distant ledge; often nearer, tempting to long shots, but comparatively few are brought to bag.

III. *Phurkiyā and the Pindari Glacier.*

'The book contained the usual assortment..... There was the politely patronising entry:

Being accustomed to Wolverhampton, I am greatly pleased with this coast.

The poetical effusion:

*Majestic spot: say doth the sun in heaven
Behold ought to equal thee, wave washed Penleven, etc.*

The contemplative man's ejaculation:

*It is impossible, on viewing these Cyclopean
Cliffs, to repress the thought, How great is Nature, how
little Man.*

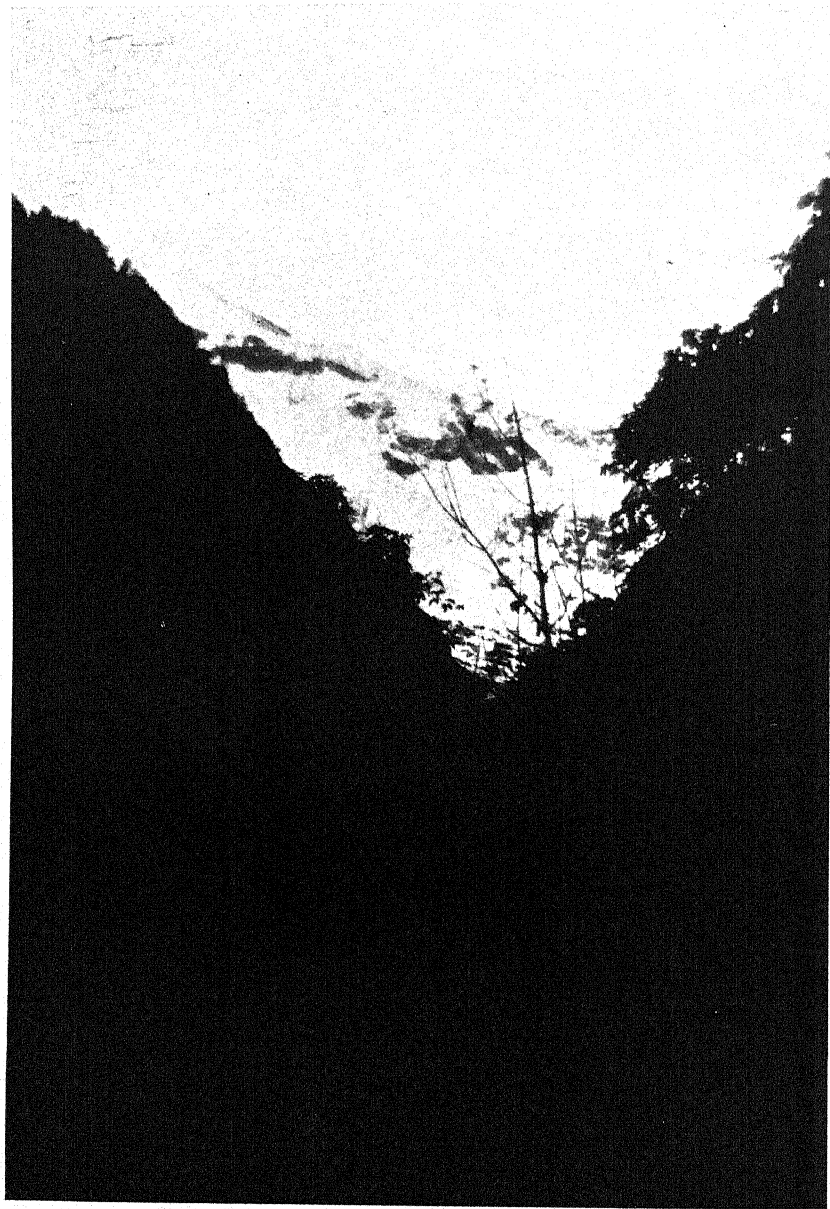
A note; *So it is old chap;* and a reproof in another hand: *Shut up, can't you see he's suffering.'*

Extracts from Mr. Job's visitors' book at Penleven.
(*'The Haunted Yacht'* by 'Q').

The windows of the rest-house at Phurkiyā are protected on the outside, when the house is not in use, by stout boards; a necessary precaution, since otherwise in the early winter, when the bungalow is undergoing the annually recurring process of being buried in snow, the debris coming down with a snow-slide would stove the windows in. The boards serve also to keep out wild animals. When we visited Phurkiyā in

October of 1924, we found that a bear had taken refuge from the great storm of the previous month by climbing on the roof and making a great hole in it, so gaining access to the southern room. He had made his exit by breaking down the door from inside. The bungalow originally consisted of one room, with a porch on the north, of which photographs may be found in Dr. Boeck's *Indische Gletscherfahrten*. Another room has now been added; and the old porch has been converted into a bay window, which in the winter of 1930-31 was slightly dislodged by an unusually violent snow-slide, so that the rain and the wind now enter by the gaps in the alcove of the northern room; but the room is large, no appreciable discomfort is caused, and the stability of the bungalow itself is apparently not threatened.

On the 25th of May, 1894, Colonel J. W. A. Michell, of the Indian Staff Corps, planted flags on the glacier in order to ascertain its rate of flow, as Tyndall had done a generation before on the Mer de Glace. He left an exact note of their positions, so that future travellers might make observations; but Phurkiyā is a very different kind of place to the Montanvers, and although every visitor to the place might reasonably be expected to assist, and certainly would do so, it is too far from the nearest haunt of civilised men for hope of success in such an experiment. It may be true that more parties visit the Pindari Glacier than other glaciers of the Himalaya; but in saying that one is only speaking relatively; and visitors to the Pindari come at long and uncertain intervals. A traveller did visit the place three weeks after Colonel Michell had set up his flags; he noted that they had all fallen, and one had distinctly moved, but the distance was not noted. The next comment is that all traces of the flags have disappeared. The loosely bound sheets of paper left by Colonel Michell for the record of observation of the movement of the glacier were treated, after the flags had disappeared, as a kind of Visitors' Book, in which travellers recorded their achievements, and when they had nothing worth recording to note, became facetious or sentimental. Mr. F. Canning of the Indian Forest Service, whose own contributions to the book are among the



Sunset on Nanda Devi, from mile 70.

⟨ In the middle foreground is the darkening slope of 21624 ⟩.

more valuable, ultimately collected all that remained of the loosely bound sheets, and bound them up into a substantial book, which he presented to the bungalow as the Phurkiyā Log-book. Some earlier entries had been lost before Mr. Canning collected what was left, as we know from extracts from the sheets which were published before the first bound book was made. The book now runs into three substantial volumes, which present a curious mixture; the ordinary trivialities of the ordinary Visitors' Book; scientific notes by officers of the Forest Department, including a complete account of the local flora from Mr. H. Champion; notes on the apparent retreat of the glacier; and records of serious mountaineering exploits. We find the politely patronising entry; 'Having been on glaciers in many parts of the world, I did not go on the Pindari Glacier, but I greatly admired the view'. There is no lack of the contemplative man's ejaculations, or of poetical effusions and humorous entries, all of which serve to entertain parties who find themselves weather-bound in the bungalow; though the practice of appending marginal notes to other persons' entries should be discouraged. Among the more valuable entries is a note of exploration of the glacier made by Mr. Canning himself in 1912, illustrated by an excellent map.

The Pindari Glacier flows down from the slopes of 21,624, an outlying peak of Nandā Devī, and 20,740, a lesser peak of Nandā Kot. The Dhanpuriyas are apt, when on the glacier, to call 21,624 Nandā Devī and 20,740 Nandā Kot, a fact which leads to much discussion in the book. Dr. L. L. Fermor in 1906 pointed out that Nandā Devī was not visible from the glacier (that is to say from the lower part of it). This is correct; Nandā Devī is concealed by the slopes of 21,624. It is not clear whether Dr. Fermor meant also to say that Nandā Devī was not visible from the Pindar valley; but he was read as having said this; and it appears to have been generally assumed that Nandā Devī was not visible from Phurkiyā, so that somebody always dogmatically corrects travellers who claim to have seen her. An engineer from Dhanbad, who supports his statement by a mathematical demonstration of its possibility, does not thereby escape subsequent correction; and

in due course we find in the book a picture of a tombstone erected over the dead legend that Nandā Devī is visible from the glacier, Phurkiyā or Diwāli. The visitor to Phurkiyā or Diwāli should look towards the north at sunrise or sunset on a perfectly clear day; and he will see the eastern peak of Nandā Devī lit up by the sun while 21,624 and the rest of the mountains are in darkness, a most beautiful sight, which will leave no doubt in his mind on the question. At that time of day it is perfectly clear that the peak is several miles behind the slopes of 21,624; but its distance is not apparent after sunrise, when it looks like a part of 21,624. The peak is visible from Phurkiyā, and for the first mile of the path to the glacier; more of it is naturally visible from Diwāli, though most frequently, on a day which is otherwise perfectly clear, the only indication of its existence is a small wisp of cloud in the north.

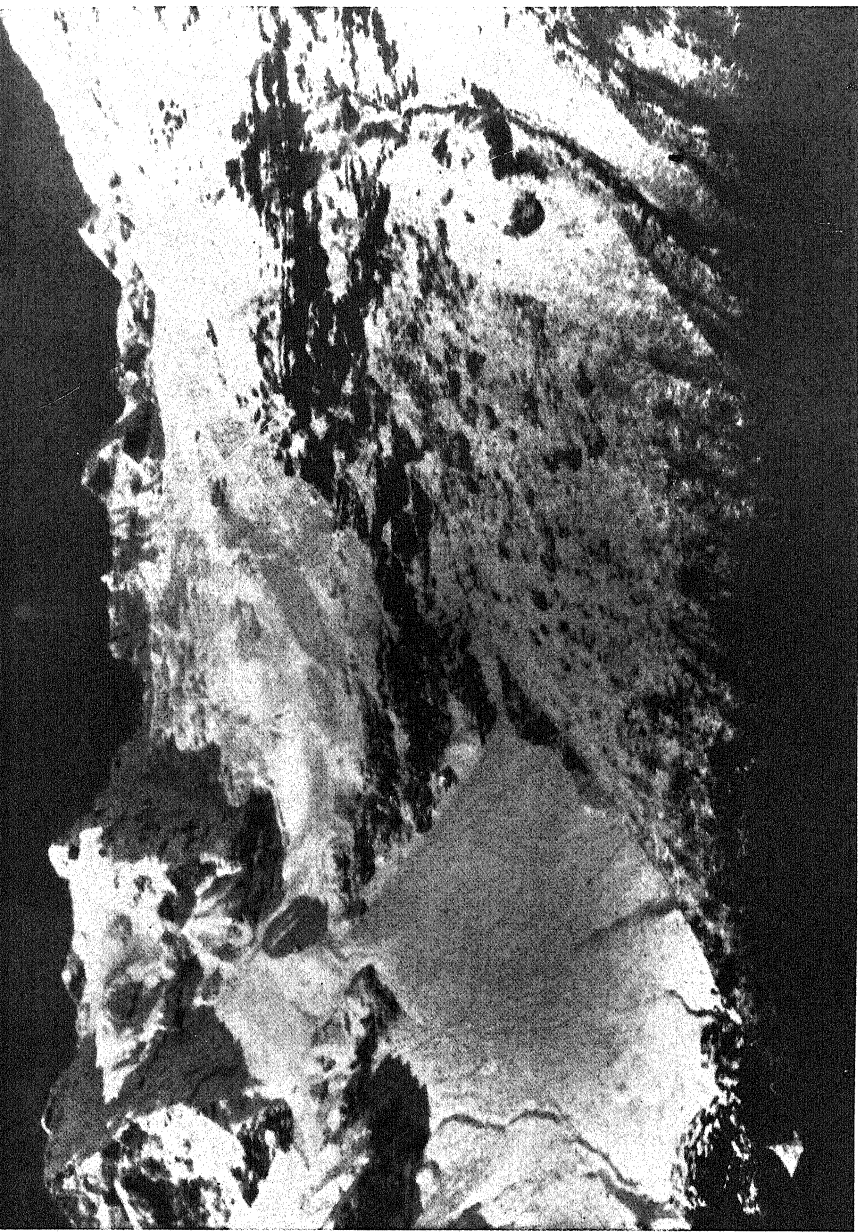
The Dhanpuriyas' trick of miscalling 20,740 Nandā Koṭ has been treated in the log-book with more respect. The Nandā Koṭ of the Survey map is the mountain (22,530), which in a distant view from the south stands out so prominently, appearing to form the eastern end of the Nandā Devī group, from which fact it probably derived its name. It is known by that name to the people of India generally (or to those of them who know anything about it at all); and so far as my own observation has gone, speaking subject to correction, I should say that it is known by no other name to the local people of the Gorīgāṅgā side. The Dhanpuriyas of Lohārkhēt, though they also call it Nandā Koṭ, have another local name for it, Bankattia. Hence some writers in the log-book, including Mr. H. G. Champion, whose opinion demands respect, consider that 22,530 is miscalled Nandā Koṭ, and that the name should be applied to 20,740. That is all very well; but when others presume to correct previous travellers, by marginal notes substituting Bankattia where Nandā Koṭ has been mentioned, it is going too far. Dr. Kurt Boeck in his *Indische Gletscherfahrten* calls 24,379 Nandā Koṭ; but this is probably a mere mistake. I do not myself consider that any useful purpose is to be served by departing from the nomenclature

of the Survey, which indeed I think to be correct. There is comparatively little point in the name as applied to 20,740; and I certainly do not think that the name of Nandā Kot ought to be applied to any of the subsidiary peaks of the group in which 22,530 is the chief.

There appears to be a general consensus of opinion among those who have availed themselves of opportunities of observing the position of the snout at considerable intervals of time, that of late years the Pindari Glacier has been receding. Seventy years ago the upper névé could be reached comparatively easily from a side glacier by a col (Schlagintweit 17,770). The glacier has now so far retreated that the upper snow-field is practically inaccessible from the col, whereby the difficulty of the passage of Traill's Pass has been greatly increased. In 1898, our old friend Mr. Pringle Kennedy remarked that he thought that the snout had receded half a mile since he had visited the glacier in 1880. In 1915, Kunwar Sheo Singh, Tahsildar of Almora, observed that during the last five years the glacier had perceptibly receded, and that it was cutting deeper into its bed. In 1926, Mr. Canning, whose observation is to be trusted, remarked that the snout had receded 200 yards since 1912. The extension of the upper snow-field, which made it easy of access for Traill, may have been due to abnormal falls of snow in the earlier years of his administration. It is surprising to read in his first account of Kumaon that snow ordinarily remains on the northern slopes of the outer range, which culminates in the peaks of China (8,622) and Lariya Kanta (8,141), until the end of April; but in his account of the Bhotia mahals which he published in the seventeenth volume of *Asiatic Researches* he says that the interior of the Himalaya is daily becoming more inaccessible from the gradual extension of the zone of perpetual snow; and that the Bhotias point out ridges now never free from snow, which within the memory of man were clothed with forest and afforded pasture. He goes on to remark that the great accumulation of snow on the summits has the effect of forcing down the lower level of snow, and with it the line of perpetual congelation, and that Laspa in the Gorigaṅgā valley had been

recently rendered wholly unproductive for two years by a change of climate caused in this way by avalanches. If the state of the glacier in Traill's time was in part due to a succession of exceptionally heavy falls of snow, there has probably been since then a considerable shrinkage in the mass of ice; but the 'retreat' which has been observed in recent years need imply no more than that the glacier in the course of its continual erosion has come on a softer bed and cut deeper into it, continuing the process which has left the great moraines and created the plains of Hindusthan.

The glacier is reached by a path on the left bank of the Pindari river, on which the last mile-stone, three miles from Phurkiyā, marks 76 miles from Almora. Phurkiyā can be reached without tents; and a height of about 13,500 feet can usually be attained with ordinary boots and without equipment for climbing. Even here, nailed boots and an axe are desirable. The rocks which to the eye look merely wet will be found in the early morning to be covered with *verglas*: and an axe makes the passage over the steep hard frozen snow very much easier and quicker. Mr. Campbell Forrester has described in his *Four Weeks' Tramp through the Himalayas* how he slipped on one of these slopes when he visited the glacier; and although serious consequences were averted by the accident of his being held up by a bush after he had fallen some distance, it would have been better to have had an axe, when he would not have slipped at all. Indeed, one of the most common entries in the Phurkiyā log-book, running in one form or another throughout the volumes, is of regret for not having come up properly equipped, grieving over lost opportunities. It may be that the ordinary traveller expects too little, because the journey to Phurkiyā is made so easy for him. He leaves Phurkiyā, marching up towards the glacier, and suddenly he sees before him a prospect resembling that of the Bellavista in the Engadine. He goes a little farther, and he finds himself looking up the tributary Nandā Kot glacier, crowned by the great mountain, with snowy peaks and glaciers on each side of him, and regrets too late that he has not come equipped for travelling or climbing in the mountains.



The Pindari Glacier ; tributary glaciers from Sundardhunga.

I have already described how Traill crossed the upper snow-field of the glacier, between 21,624 and 20,740, and descended by the Lwanl Glacier on the other side; and how he was followed in 1855 by Adolph Schlagintweit and in 1861 by Colonel Edmund Smyth. Sixty-five years were to go before the pass was again to be successfully attempted. Traces of the path which Traill made still remain on the right lateral moraine of the glacier, visible from the medial moraine. Traill and his successors followed the right bank up to a cave (14,180), whence Schlagintweit made his start at 2 A.M. on the 31st of May for the actual crossing, following a side glacier, and so reaching a col (17,700) whence they easily reached the upper snow-field. The crossing in Schlagintweit's time was not difficult until the descent to the Lwanl Glacier was reached; but Schlagintweit had difficulties also from the porters' terror of Nandā Devī, the dreaded Durgā, which must always be a very serious factor to take into consideration in any attempt to go high with local men.

In 1925, Mr. and Mrs. Rutledge, with General Wilson and Major Carfrae, attempted to cross the pass from the Phurkiyā side. They crossed the glacier to the right bank, about a mile above the snout, camped at Schlagintweit's cave, and arrived at the col from which Traill had reached the upper snow-field. They found that the retreat of the glacier had there made the névé inaccessible, and that the only way to it was by a steep cliff of rotten rock, about eight hundred feet high. Bad weather forced them to retreat; but Mr. Rutledge thinks that to have attempted the cliff with the porters which they then had would have been dangerous. In August of 1926, Mr. and Mrs. Rutledge and General Wilson succeeded in crossing the pass from the Lwanl valley. General Wilson's account of the journey is to be found in the *Alpine Journal* of May, 1928. It is as easy to get moderately high on the Lwanl Glacier as on the Pindari; on each side the difficulties begin about a thousand feet below the pass. The party selected a steep rib of rock which ran up to the ridge of 20,740 which formed one side of the pass, high above it. Near the top they found the strata against them; and

they had to make a traverse of three hundred yards to reach the ridge, being fortunately able to chip away the edges of the lower slabs so as to produce an edge 'with the appearance of a closed book' which gave foot-hold. From the ridge they descended to the pass, whence they went south-west for a mile and a half, keeping over towards the base of 21,624, and so came to the head of the cliff, at the foot of which they had stopped in the previous year. The descent from the ridge (to quote General Wilson), is eight hundred feet of real abomination. It is composed of rock in every stage of decay and looseness; and to avoid dislodging the horrible stuff was almost an impossibility. The party got safely through; and when they reached Schlagintweit's col their troubles were over.

In October of 1930, having been driven back from the northern side of the Himālaya by bad weather, we ascended the Lwanl Glacier, with the idea of making a dash for the pass if conditions should be favourable. We had sent a second camp from Martoli, to be joined on the other side, in order to avoid the necessity of being accompanied by terrified porters. Given favourable weather conditions, the crossing would not thus be impracticable, in spite of the cold and the comparative shortness of the day. As we passed up the valley from Lwanl, the rock at Narspan Patti (13,200), under which Schlagintweit took shelter in his descent in 1855, stood out, with masses of cut faggots left near it, which would have been a welcome sight to anybody coming down the deserted Lwanl valley. Higher up, snow began to fall; and it was snowing hard before the tents were pitched. At the head of the Pindari Glacier and on Nandā Devi the snow must have been heavy, since we heard all night tremendous avalanches on the mountain, and on the following morning snow was standing out in great cornices at every bulge in the rocks approaching the pass. A black storm cloud stood over Nandā Devi, forming a background for the eastern peak, by which the lower ragged fringes of the cloud were concealed, and covering the western peak, over which a storm was evidently raging, moving in our direction. Less than a week earlier we





The Pindari Glacier (21624).

had learned on the Unṭadhurā what a blizzard might be like at these heights; and although it would have probably not been so bad in the comparatively sheltered Lwanl valley, it was sufficiently obvious that the upward route was barred, and that unless we promptly moved downwards towards Lwanl and the Gorigaṅgā, we were likely to be very uncomfortable. While preparations for moving camp were being made, the sun broke through the clouds for a few minutes, shining on the great eastern peak, making the lighter clouds which veiled her lower slopes almost transparent, and giving an opportunity for the photograph which was reproduced in the last number of the *Journal*.¹ The scene was one of singular beauty, with the great black cloud forming a background for Nandā Devī; but an alternative caption for the picture might well have been found from Longfellow :

*Try not the Pass, the old man said,
Dark lowers the tempest overhead.*

During the present year (1932) Mr. Hugh Ruttledge spent the hot weather with the guide Emile Rey of Courmayeur, endeavouring to find a way through to the Nandā Devī basin over the shoulder of 21,624, to the east of the upper snow-field of the Pindari Glacier. The attempt was not successful, which may have been due to the abnormal weather conditions. There had been practically no winter snow during the previous cold weather; but from the beginning of May the weather was bad, and this, together with the effect of the new snow on the ice, made climbing more than usually difficult. But even when allowance is made for adverse weather conditions, the fact that two such experienced mountaineers failed to obtain even a sight of the basin must be held to indicate that this route is practically impossible.

¹ *Ante*, p. 128.

II.—Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Kāvārṇṇadeva, dated 526 Gāṅga era.

By G. Ramadas, B.A., M.R.A.S.

The Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, registered these plates as No. 5 of App. A. of his annual report for 1918-19. They were in the possession of Mr. Chilukūri Narayanarao then. From what was given in the record, I found out that the plates were important to unravel the mystery enveloping the era of the Eastern Gāṅga Kings of Kalinga. I waited long for the publication of these plates, but it never happened. Despairing that such an important document would be neglected, I prepared this paper from the clear estampages supplied to me by the Madras Epigraphist's office.

The set consists of three copperplates each measuring 7" by $2\frac{3}{4}$ " and in each plate is a hole $\frac{5}{8}$ " in diameter near the left side. The edges seem to have been beaten in to raise them into rims, so that the writing might not be damaged. Consequently, the writing is in good preservation. The plates seem to have been strung on a ring which I have not seen, but I shall quote here what the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy had noted with regard to it. 'The ring has a diameter of about 3". Its ends are fixed into the thick ornamental bracket at the bottom of the seal which is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. On the surface of the latter are carved in hollow, the sun, the crescent and the dagger in the slanting position at the top and below these a seated bull on a platform facing the proper right with an *aṅkuṣa* in the vertical position in its front. The seal is shaped like a small bell from the bracket supporting it.' The total weight of the plates, ring and seal is said to be 188 tolas.

The inscription is written on the inner sides of the 1st and the last plates and on both sides of the second. The characters are mostly Nāgari, but there is a mixture of Oriya letters

also, e.g. ए, च, ग, झ, ख, ण, प and फ all through the inscription. More than one form is used for some letters, e.g. for *na* three different forms are used. cf. l. 1 पुरान्; l. 7 नत; l. 20 स्नान. Similarly for *ra* cf. l. 29 रेवन; राचन्; cf. पु in पुच; l. 6 विपुल; l. 7 भूपाल.

The language is Sanskrit; but there is a sprinkling of Oriya words in the end. l. 23 चुनगोटि a dilapidated one; l. 23 गाड़=a brook; l. 29 षोड़ाभूट=a waste land; l. 32 देड़शत=1½ hundred; राचन=a soldier; l. 20 वड़ in वड़नन्दि. The scribe did not pay any regard to the rules of Sandhi; in certain places whole expressions are left out. All such mistakes are corrected in the transcribed text by means of footnotes.

This charter is of the reign of a Gaṅga King, Madhu-Kāvārṇna and it begins in the same way as the grants of the earlier Gaṅga Kings, just as if it were meant to record a grant by that king himself.

‘Om! Hail! From the victorious camp of Kaliṅganagara, which, charming with the delights of all seasons, resembles the town of the immortals—the son of Sriman Anantavarṇa Deva and the ornament of the spotless family of the river of the gods (सुरसरित् कुलामलनिलकः), the Mahārājādhirāja Madhu-Kāvārṇna Dēva who is freed from the stains of Kali age by doing obeisance to the two lotus-feet of the holy Gokarna Swāmin, the parent of the movable and the immovable, the unique architect who has constructed the whole world (the god) with the moon for his crest jewel, who is installed on the summit of the spotless golden hill of Mahēndra, in the many caves contained in the stomach of which inhabit the famous tāpasās (hermits) who had achieved *siddhi* (the King) whose feet are made lustrous by the rays of light shed by the crest jewels of many rulers whose heads were bent by his valour and who had subdued all his enemies by (such means of) prowess (as) the five-fold sounds.’

Then instead of recording some command of the King so described, the inscription in ll. 10–12 tells us that, in the reign of this King, the lord of Paṭṭyāpura in the Tristhali (situated) in the west of the flourishing Trisāla in the region of Kaliṅga, Śrīman Śrī Lakṣhmana Ramadēva, who was the very

embodiment of Bhairava in torturing the enemies by the bewildering five-fold sound which he had achieved and who was the ornament of the Kuḍāla family (ll. 12-18) having combined the three villages of Paṭugrāma, Hoṇḍora Vāda and Morakhini into (one) Vaiśya agrahāra, and having freed the village, including all land and water heads within the four landmarks, of all molestations from *rāṇakās*, *rājaputras*, district officer (*vishayapati*) and all those that are dependent on the royal feet for their maintenance, and also having ordained that it should not be entered into by the district officers (*chēṭa*) (the lord) conferred on Śrī Erapa Nāyaka, the ornament of the spotless family of merchants and the son of *Paramamāhēśvara*. Śrī Mañchi Nāyaka, the devout worshipper of the feet of his father and mother, who had originally come from Paṭugrama and resided at Dantipura.

Then the boundaries of the newly formed agrahāra are given in ll. 19-29. Perhaps the lands mentioned in ll. 28-29 were not included within the boundaries referred to above. They are, the field of 200 murayas (*left out*) for the maintenance of a charitable house (चक्र); the waste land of (the village) Dōli-mṛga-pēṇṭa; the farm of Rēvana Rāutu in the Gōlipaṭala and the dry land of Apāvi.

Ll. 29-32 contain the usual imprecatory verses. Then again (l. 32) it is stated (both in words and figures) that one hundred and fifty (150) silver coins were paid; but to whom it was paid it is not stated.

The date of the grant is given in l. 33. It is written in figures as 526 of the prosperous victorious era of the (family of) the Gangas.

The writer of the grant (ll. 33-34) was Madhusudana, son of Madhava and an inhabitant of Kalīṅganagara. The scribe's land is said to be 40 murayas. Akshaśāli Ranāma dictated it (l. 35).

The word *muraya* requires some explanation. It appears to denote sum unit of grain measure. The same unit is mentioned in the Chicacole plates of Satyavarmadēva.¹ The

¹ I.A., Vol. XIV, pp. 11 ff.

Chikkālavalasa plates of Vajrahastadeva III¹ mention *mura* as a unit of measurement. But the Madras Museum plates of Vajrahastadēva III² call this measure by the name of *muraka*. Both *muraka* and *muraya* seem to have been derived from *mura* which means an encircling with wood³ or some material. A thing made of an encircling wood or metal is in Sanskrit called *muraja*. In Telugu and Oriya parts the same name is applied both to the grain measure and the solid part of a drum (बृद्ध). In Oriya it is called मण. Similarly मुरज might have been a common name both for the encircling part of the drum and the grain measure. *Mura* and *muraka* were used probably in Kalinga. In Oriya there are two separate symbols for the palatal and the guttural 'ya'; the former is pronounced almost like 'ja' in the beginning of a word or syllable, e.g. यस्य of Sanskrit becomes जस्य in Oriya mouths यो हरेति consequently is written as जो हरेति; at the end of a syllable or word य retains its original sound. So the Sanskrit word *muraya* becomes *muraja* in Oriya.

Of the places mentioned in the grant, Kalinganagara has been identified with the modern Mukhalingam. The other places cannot be identified now. So the Tristhali and Trisāla cannot be identified at present.

The date of this grant is important. Because this is a charter in which the name of a King is similar to the one given in the Kalinga Gaṅga genealogies and the date is given in the Kalinga Gaṅga era. Thus both by synchronism and by astronomical calculations, can be discovered the date when the *Pravardhamāna Vijayarājya Śaka* was begun. The date of the grant is given in the words, '*Ganga Pravardhamāna Vijayarājya Samvatsara añkēnāpi* 526, i.e. the 526th year of the Gaṅga era which is the same as is found in all the ancient grants of the Kalinga Kings.

This grant, by stating that the Gaṅga King Madhu-Kāvārṇna was ruling in the year 526 of that era, offers to us a clue, surer than palæography, to establish with the help of mathematics, the year when the era had been started. The

¹ Bhārati, Vol. II, part 2, pp. 138 ff.

² E.I., Vol. IX, No. 11.

³ Sanskrit Dictionary by H. H. Wilson.

name of the King mentioned in this grant is similar to some of those stated in the genealogies supplied to us by the charters issued by the Gaṅga Kings of the 11th century of the Christian era. One Madhu-Kāmārṇava is said to have reigned on the throne immediately before *Trikaliṅgādhipati Anantavarma Vajrahastadēva*. In all the Kaliṅga genealogies this Madhu-Kāmārṇava is stated to have reigned for 19 years and then *Trikaliṅgādhipati Anantavarma Vajrahastadēva* ascended the throne in S.S. 960. This Madhu-Kāmārṇava seems to have reigned from S.S. 942 to 960. Consequently the 526th year of the present document must be one of the years of this period.

Dr. Fleet who always sought to establish facts on more precise basis than on palæography and synchronism only, which are merely suggestive, laid out a plan to discover, with mathematical exactitude, the first year of the Gaṅga era. In editing the Parlakimidi plates of Indravarma¹ dated 91st year of the Gaṅga era, he said, 'The clue to the date may perhaps be found in the record in l. 10 of the grant of the year 128, of an eclipse of the moon on the *full-moon day* of the month of *Mārgaśīra*. This (eclipse) coupled with the record in l. 19 of the present grant, that in the 91st year of the era, the month of *Māgha* included 30 solar days—which is not always the case—may very possibly enable us hereafter, by means of detailed calculations, to determine precisely which of the eclipses mentioned is the one intended.' Here he laid out a plan to discover the origin of the era with the help of the astronomical occurrences recorded in the several grants. By the word 'hereafter', Dr. Fleet hoped that more grants recording the eclipses or other astronomical occurrences might be brought to light,—and so it happened. Subsequently many copperplate grants of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings have been discovered and some of them record astronomical occurrences, which, taken as landmarks, may lead to the original point of starting. All such records together with the two noted by the doctor are given below in their chronological order that they may be easily available for reference.

¹ I.A., Vol. XVI, 1887.

1. The Kaliṅga grant of Indravarma¹ records a lunar eclipse that had occurred on the full-moon day of Margaśira. The charter is dated 15th Chaitra 128th year. The recorded lunar eclipse had occurred on the full-moon day of the month of Margaśira of 127 (Gaṅga era).

2. Tekkali plates of Dānārnavā's son Indravarma,² dated 154th year (Gaṅga era) record a solar eclipse.

3. A solar eclipse is recorded in the Kaliṅga grant of Dēvēndravarma,³ dated 251st year (Gaṅga era).

4. A solar eclipse is recorded in the Alamanda plates of Rajēndravarma's son Anantavarma,⁴ dated 304th year (Gaṅga era).

5. A solar eclipse is recorded in the Chicacole plates of Satyavarman,⁵ dated 351st year (Gaṅga era).

6. A solar eclipse is recorded in the Chiḍivalasa copper-plate grant of Dēvēndravarma,⁶ son of Bhūpāndravarma dated 397th year (Gaṅga era).

¹ I.A., Vol. XIII, pp. 119 ff.

² E.I., Vol. XVIII, No. 31.

³ I.A., Vol. XIII, pp. 273 ff.

In the original plates the date is given as fifty-one in words only; but from the characters both Fleet and Kielhorn doubted the truth of it. I may here quote what the editor of the grant has said (I.A., Vol. XIII, p. 273).

'These three grants of Dēvēndravarma and Satyavarman are shown, by the characters in which they are engraved, to be of later date than the three grants of Indravarma. Consequently, the fifty-first year, which is quoted in one of the grants of Dēvēndravarma and in the grant of Satyavarman cannot be referred to the same epoch with the dates of 91, 128, and 146. From this it is clear that the grant of the Dēvēndravarma of the 51st year cannot be assigned to the first or the second centuries of the Gaṅga era.' Though the father of Satyavarman of the Chicacole plates of the 351st year (Gaṅga era) was a Dēvēndravarma also, yet he cannot be identified with the Dēvēndravarma of the plates dated 51st year. For, father and son could not have issued a grant for the same solar eclipse of the same year and two solar eclipses in a year are very rare. This Dēvēndravarma of the 51st year may be the same as the Dēvēndravarma of the Vizagapatam plates, dated 254th year (Gaṅga era). So I take the year 51 to be a mistake for 251.

⁴ E.I., Vol. III, No. 3.

⁵ I.A., Vol. XIII, pp. 11 ff.

⁶ J.A.H.R.S., Vol. II, pp. 146 ff.

These are the eclipses recorded in the charters. In addition to these the ephemeral records also may be culled from some of them. They also serve as guides to lead us to the point of origin.

7. The Parlakimidi plates of **Indravarma**¹ show that in the 91st year of the era, the month of **Māgha** (*solar*) included 30 days. This is a rare thing.

8. The **Chicacole** plates of **Dēvēndravarma**² dated 183rd year records a gift on the 8th tithi of **Māgha** when the sun was proceeding northwards (साधनासुदगयने) and the document having been engraved on 20th Śrāvana 183, the date of the gift must have been in the previous year, i.e. the 8th tithi of **Māgha** of the year 182 of the Gaṅga era. The word 'udagayanē', shows that the ceremonies connected with the turning of the sun to begin his northward march were done on that 8th tithi of **Māgha** of the year 182. Ordinarily, ceremonies are performed on the 7th tithi of **Māgha** because the *sastras* prescribe them. It is an unusual thing and it is not in accordance either with *śāstras* or custom to perform any ceremonies on the 8th tithi of **Māgha**. Religious performances are prescribed for the 7th tithi which is called the *Rathta-saptami*, *Viśoka-saptami* and also *Śarkarāphala-saptami*. It is considered to be as auspicious as a solar eclipse 'Śurya-grahana tulyā-tu śuklā māghasya saptami'.³ That the custom of observing the *Māgha-saptami* ceremonies was in vogue amongst the Gaṅga kings of **Kaliṅga** is vouchsafed by the **Kaliṅga grant** of **Indravarma**, dated in the year 138 of their era. It records a gift on the 7th tithi of **Māgha**. It is not, therefore, customary to make any gifts on the 8th tithi of **Māgha**. It shows that the gifts or charities were made at the time when the 8th tithi became current. 'The general rule for civil purposes, as well as for some ordinary religious purposes for which no particular time of day happens to be prescribed, is that the tithi current at sunrise on a solar day gives its name and numeral to that day, and is coupled with its week-day.' And

¹ I.A., Vol. XVI, 1887.

² E.I., Vol. III, No. 21.

³ *Nirnayasindhu*.

also, 'At the time of the performance of religious ceremonies the current tithi, vāra, and all other particulars have to be pronounced'.¹ Considering in this light, the date of the gift recorded in the document intimates that the 8th tithi was current at the time of sunrise on that day and also that the 7th tithi of Māgha of that year had disappeared from the calendar. 'A tithi on which the sun does not rise is expunged . . . and it is called a *Kshaya*.'² On the previous day the 6th tithi was current at the time of sun-rise; and the 8th tithi became current from the time of sunrise on that day on which the gift was made. The *saptami* tithi began and ended during the intervening period. Such *saptami* is said to be more auspicious than the one that has individual recognition.

पूर्वोक्ते षटिकादयं षष्ठी सप्तमी च परेद्युः ।
 क्षयवशादखणोदयात्पूर्वम् समाप्यते तत्परम् ॥
 इति षष्ठीयुतत्वमुक्तम् । तत्र षष्ठ्यां सप्तमीक्षयम् ।
 प्रवेश्याऽखणोदये खानङ्कार्यम् ॥ (मदनरत्ने, भविष्योत्तरे)³

The 6th tithi should be current for about two ghatikas (after sunrise) on the previous day; and then the 7th tithi should commence and naturally by diminution, must expire before the dawn of the next day. Thus the 7th tithi is said to be combined with the 6th (*madanaratna* and *Bhavishyōttara*).

It is essential to bathe on the 7th tithi when it is current at dawn (*arunōdaya*).

सूर्यग्रहणतुल्या तु शुक्ला माघस्य सप्तमी ।
 अखणोदयवेलायां तस्यां खानम्हाफलम् ॥
 (चन्द्रिकायां विष्णुवचनात्)⁴

It is said in *Vishnuvachana* mentioned in *Chendrika*, 'The 7th tithi of the bright half of Māgha is equal to a solar eclipse. To bathe at dawn when it is current gives great (good) result.'

¹ The Indian Calendar, p. 17.

² The Indian Calendar, p. 18. Readers that wish to know more regarding the tithi and their recognition in Hindu religious ceremonies may read art. 31, p. 16 of the Indian Calendar by Sewell.

³ *Nirnayasindhu*.

⁴ *Nirnayasindhu*.

So a Kshaya 7th tithi as pointed out above was current at the dawn only before the next sunrise. At sunrise the 8th tithi began and the gift recorded in the grant was stated to have been given on the 8th *tithi* though it had been intended for the 7th *tithi*.

The 7th tithi of the bright half of Māgha of the year 182 (Gaṅga era) must be *Kshaya*.

With the help of these eight-recorded events we can carry on detailed calculations on the years of the period of the Madhu-Kāmārṇava's reign and may arrive at the year when the era began. It has already been shown that this Madhu-Kāmārṇava VI reigned from S.S. 942-960. One of these years may correspond to the 526th year of the era. If so, the era must have begun in one of the years between S.S. 416-434.

1. The 127th year of the Gaṅga era must correspond to one of the years from S.S. 543 to 561. But the lunar eclipse of the full-moon-day of Margaśira happened only in the years S.S. 546, 547, and 548 of this period. The other years are given up.

The initial year corresponding to each is S.S. 419, 420, and 421.

2. The solar eclipse recorded in the year 154 of the era, must happen in one of the years S.S. 573, 574, and 575. But in 574 there was no solar eclipse. Deleting it we get the two years S.S. 573 and 575 in each of which there was a solar eclipse. The initial year corresponding to each of these is S.S. 419 and 421.

3. The solar eclipse recorded in the year 251 must be seen in either S.S. 670 or 672 each of which is 251 years from each of S.S. 419 and 421. There was no solar eclipse in the year S.S. 670 nor was there one in S.S. 672.

By applying these three tests we could not get even one year that could satisfy the conditions. So not even one year of the period of Madhu-Kāmārṇava VI corresponds to the year 526 of the Gaṅga era. Consequently the Madhu-Kāmārṇava of our plates cannot be identified with the Madhu-Kāmārṇava VI of the genealogies.

Who can this Madhu-Kāvārṇa of the charter under review be? As he bears all the panegyric of the Kings of the Gaṅga family and as he is said to be the Maharājā of the Gaṅga family, he must be one of those mentioned in the genealogies given in the copperplate grants of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅga-deva and his grandfather.

The Vizagapatam copperplate dated Śaka year 1040 of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅga-deva,¹ mentions, in the genealogy five Kings of the name of Kāmārṇava and one of Madhu-Kāmārṇava; though the last had a qualifying appellation of 'madhu' he is counted as the sixth along with the other previous Kings of the name of Kāmārṇava. Again in the Vizagapatam copperplate grant dated S.S. 1057² of the same sovereign this Madhu-Kāmārṇava is mentioned with the simple name of Kāmārṇava. The son and successor of Anantavarma is mentioned as Kāmārṇava VII as well as Madhu-Kāmārṇava.³ From these observations it can be established that all the Kings that bore the name of Kāmārṇava had the affix of *Madhu* to their names.

The Kshētramāhātunyam of Mukhalingam gives all the tradition connected with the place and its temple. It is in nine chapters and each of which is said to have been a part of the Skāndapurāṇa. The colophon which closes the last chapter may be cited here to vouchsafe the statement.

“इति श्रीस्कान्दपुराणे उत्तरखण्डे स्कन्दागस्त्य-संवादे जयन्ती-
क्षेत्रमाहात्म्ये भविष्यत्कथाख्याननाम नवमोऽध्यायः ॥”

The story given in this 9th chapter, closely coincides with the statement made in lines 60-63 of the Vizagapatam copperplate, dated Saka year 1040. This portion of the Skāndapurāṇa cannot be allotted to times subsequent to S.S. 1040. Since the fact that the tradition of the birth of Ísa in the līṅga form from a *madhūka* tree is mentioned in the above grant, the *purāṇa* that recorded the tradition must have existed long before the time of the charter.

The earliest inscription existing in the temple of Mukha-

¹ I.A., Vol. XVIII, pp. 165 ff.

² I.A., Vol. XVIII, pp. 172 ff.

³ S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 1322.

liṅgam is dated in Śaka year 980. In it the god is mentioned by the name of Madhukēśa, a name which contains in itself the tradition regarding its origin. This inscription is of the time of Trikalīṅgādhipati Anantavarma Vajrahastadēva who was crowned in S.S. 960. So the tradition (*purāṇā*) must have been in existence even prior to S.S. 960.

In this *purāṇa*, it is said,

धरण्यामस्ति सर्वेषामङ्गलानां सदास्यदम् ।
 पट्टणं कटकाभिख्यं जनानां सर्वसौख्यदम् ।
 तत्पट्टणे महातेजो विशुवर्धनपूर्वकः ।
 मयुकर्ण गजाधीशो महादेवो महाबलः ।
 गङ्गान्वयसमुद्रूतस्सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः ॥

It is further stated that this Madhu-karna, born in the Gaṅga family got the temple built out of the gold rained from heaven by the command of god Īśa. Sculptors and architects, as dexterous as Viśvakarma, were employed to build the temple and the city.

In this *purāṇa*, this King born in the Gaṅga family is spoken of as a '*gajādhīśa*' (lord of elephants), a title not seen expressed in words in any of the copperplate grants. Yet, it may be observed that one Gaṅga sovereign had earned the fame of giving away elephants in charity. In the Vizagapatam copperplate dated Śaka year 1040, it is thus stated with regard to Vajrahasta IV :—

1. 72. *yad-datta danti sahasra.*

1. 73. *dāna-vāriṇa cha kuvalayam paṅkilam=āsīt.*

The same sovereign is thus eulogised in the Vizagapatam copperplate dated S.S. 1057.

1. 12. *yō madagalita-galān=gajāna (n)*
sahasram=arthibhyah samadāt.

If Vajrahasta IV had not possessed a great number of elephants, how could he have earned the fame of the giver of elephants. So it is not a wonder if he was called a '*gajādhīśa*'. This title does not seem to have been confined only to him. The elephant-goat shown on the seals of the Gaṅga Kings is a clear indication that they were the lords of elephants. Even

though this title is not included in the panegyric, yet the existence of the elephant-goad in the seal establishes the title of '*gaṇādhiśa*' to the Kings of the Gaṅga family. The '*ankuśa*' shown in the seal affixed on the ring of the present charter proves that the Gaṅga King Madhu-Kāvārṇna was a '*gaṇādhiśa*'.

In the *purāṇa* the builder of the temple was named Madhukarṇa; but the Vizagapatam copperplates dated S.S. 1040 name the same King, Kāmārṇava. In the copperplate under review the name is written as Madhu-Kāvārṇna. For exigencies of poetry, a syllable is omitted in one; scribe's negligence might have missed the last syllable in the present charter. Whatever might have been the correct form, it is a fact that the builder of the temple of Madhukēśa, had the prefix of '*madhu*' to his name. For, the temple and the *līṅga* in it generally are named after their founder. The *līṅga* at Dākshārāma is called after Chalukya Bhima, its founder. Tradition says that the *līṅga* at Rāmēśvaram has been established by Rama of the Ikshvāku family and it is believed to suggest the name of its founder.

That the *līṅga* at Mukhaliṅga is called Madhukēśa shows clearly that its founder had the word Madhuka in his name. It is also known that some of the Kings of the Gaṅga family appended the word '*arnava*' to their names. The names ending with '*arnava*' are so common that the epigraphists were led to suggest that there were two sets of kings, '*varma*' and '*arnava*' amongst the Gaṅga Kings. The name of the founder seems, therefore, to have been Madhuka + *arnava*¹

¹ मधुकः=Sweet speaking (H. H. Wilson); अर्णवः= Ocean. मधुकः + अर्णवः=मधुक + उ + अर्णवः (visarga preceded by अ (short) and followed by अ (short) is changed to उ which with the preceding उ is changed to औ). So we get मधुको + अर्णव or मधुकोऽर्णव. But the writer changed औ to अव and wrote मधुकावार्ण(व). The King's name, like Guṇārṇava (an ocean of good qualities); Dānārṇava (an ocean of charities) is Madhukavārṇava (an ocean of sweet speech). By mistake or wrong conception the first two syllables were dropped and Kāvārṇava was changed to Kāmārṇava (an ocean of desires) which does not convey that dignified meaning as is conveyed by the names Guṇārṇava and Dānārṇava. In Madhukāvārṇa when the first two syllables are dropped, Kāvārṇa remains; and then 'vā'

which becomes Madhukāvārṇava. This is written as Madhukāvārṇa in the charter and Madhukarna in the *purāṇa*. These two records seem to be contemporary to the founder of the temple. But in later times the first word is dropped and the Kings were given the name Kāmārṇava. From the inscriptions found in the temple of Mukhalingam, the Gaṅga Kings seem to have had great regard for this god till the time of Rājarāja II (S.S. 1092-1114. *Vide* No. 1142, S.I.I., vol. v). The absence of inscriptions subsequent to S.S. 1114 shows that the temple and its god became neglected. Till this time we find that some of the scions of the Gaṅga family were named after the Madhukēsa. But after S.S. 1114 the faith of the Kings was transferred to the god Narasimha or to the Sun-god at Kōnārka. This is the reason why we find the Kings after S.S. 1114 were named either Narasimha or Bhānu. It is the faith of the man that generally makes him give names to his offspring. So amongst the Kings of the Gaṅga family, prior to S.S. 1114 are found the kings named after the god at Mukhalingam. From this discussion it can be observed that all the Kings named Kāmārṇava in the genealogies really bore the name of Madhukāmārṇava. Now we have to identify the Madhukāmārṇava of the present grant with one of the so-called Kāmārṇavas of the genealogy. This identification must be made only by seeing by detailed calculations into which of the periods of reign of these Kāmārṇavas will this year 526 exactly fit in.

But before the detailed calculations are carried out, it is first necessary to express in Śaka years the period of reign of

is changed to 'mā' to give it a sense. The name Madhu-Kāmārṇava given in the genealogies to the predecessor of Trikalīṅgādhipati Anantavarman Vajrahastadeva means 'an ocean desiring liquor' which is not an honourable one. Madhukah + arnavah gives a more honourable idea than Madhu + kāmah + arnavah. So Madhukārṇa which is the correct grammatical form of Madhukāvārṇa appears to have been the name of the Kings mentioned by the name of Kāmārṇava. As such, the important part of the name 'Madhuka' is taken to name the līṅga form founded by the King. Madhuka + īsa = Madhukēsa, is the name of the god found in the inscriptions. The puranic name 'Madhukarnah' is made of Madhukah + arnah which means water (arnah : अमोऽर्णस्योयनीरम् Amara-kośa) of sweet speech. The medial ā is shortened for metre.

each King and the basis for this is supplied to us by the regnal years of each King given in the genealogies. The charters of the time of Vijrahastadeva begin the genealogy from Guṇamahārṇava and some of the time of Choḍagaṅga are almost a copy of the charters of his grandfather. But the Vizagapatam copperplate grant of S.S. 1040 traces the pedigree from Kāmārṇava I; it omits Vajrahasta III but introduces two Kings, Jitāṅkuṣa and Kaligalaṅkuṣa in his place. By this change there arose a difference in the regnal years so much that the total period of all the Kings has fallen short by 24 years. When the period of reign of each King is expressed in Śaka years and the calculation is taken backwards from S.S. 960, the year of the coronation of *Trikaliṅgādhipati* Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva, a discrepancy of 18 years is felt. Then in addition to this, there is the peculiarity of the regnal years specially in vogue in the Kalinga of the Gaṅga Kings.

The peculiarity of the system was first observed by Babu Manomohan Chakravarti while writing the chronology of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings of Orissa.¹ This is called the *aṅka* or *samasta* system. Sewell also in his Hindu calendar speaks of this system. The peculiarities of this system are given below:—

1. 1 and all figures ending in 0 and 6 (except 10) are omitted.

2. The last *aṅka* year of one King and the first *aṅka* year of the succeeding King (i.e. 2) fall in the same year.

3. The year begins on the day of Suniya, Simha (Bhādrapada) Śukla Dwādasi.

When this system became adapted in the Kalinga cannot be said now. Babu M. M. Chakravarti's Chronology of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings of Orissa begins from the time of Choḍagaṅgadēva. Such a complicated system could not have come into vogue all on a sudden. It could not have developed even in one or two generations.

2. The stone inscriptions² of the time of *Trikaliṅgādhipati* Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva at Mukhalingam give the date in

¹ J.A.S.B., Vol. LXXII, No. 2, pp. 97 ff.

² S.I.I., Vol. V.

regnal years. The inscription No. 1133 states that the charity recorded therein was made during the 35th year of the King. There is discrepancy in the copperplate grants. Two Vizagapatam grants assign 33 years while the one dated S.S. 1040 give only 30 years to this Vajrahastadēva. The 39 regnal years give 33 in actual figures. This shows that the *aṅka* system was in vogue during the time of the grandfather of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅgadeva. Consequently the years given against the name of each King mentioned in the genealogy given in the charters of Vajrahasta V are all according to the *aṅka* system.

3. The Mandasa plates of Anantavarmadēva¹ dated in Śaka year 913 give the regnal year according to the *aṅka* system, e.g. *samasta pandraro* 15.

From these evidences² it may be inferred that the *aṅka* or *samasta* system had been in vogue in Kalinga from times

¹ Above Vol. XVII, pp. 175 ff.

² Some scholars are rather reluctant to admit that the regnal years given in the genealogies were calculated according to the *aṅka* system. They put forth as an argument that Kāmārṇava V is said to have reigned only for half-year and that according to the *aṅka* system it ought not to have been so. Those that have till now made a study of the characteristics of the system nowhere mentioned that half-year should not be mentioned. The *aṅka* year begins on the 12th day of the bright half of Bhādrapada. Sewell observes, 'it is also important to note that when a prince dies in the middle of an *aṅko* year, his successor's 1st *aṅko* which commences on his accession to the throne, does not run its full term of a year, but ends on the 11th day of Bhādrapad-suddha following; consequently the last regnal year of the one and the first of the other occupy one year and the one year is dropped in effect'. If a King ascended the throne after 12th Bhādrapada-suddha had passed, and died after a few months before the next month of Bhādrapada had reached, how could his period of reign be counted. As he was not on the throne on the preceding 12th day of Bhādrapada-suddha that year goes to be counted in the period of his predecessor; because he did not live till the next beginning of the *aṅka* year, that year is calculated in the period of his successor. So he naturally loses his *locus-standi* though he was on the throne for some months. The *aṅka* system does not preclude a part of a year from calculation. Such might have been the case with Kāmārṇava V. Had he lived till after the beginning of the *aṅka* year, his period of reign would have been counted as two. But that did not happen. So his regnal period is expressed as half-year, that he might not lose his place

unknown. If more copperplate grants of the ancient Kings of the family are discovered in future, more evidence for this can be gathered.

With these preliminary observations, I prepare a table showing the period of each King in Śaka years. The regnal years of each King are first reduced to actual number of years and the first year in the reign of a King is taken to be last of his predecessor.

List of the Kings of Gaṅga family showing the period of each in Śaka years.

GENEALOGY GIVEN IN THE VIZAGAPATAM PLATES, DATED S.S. 1040 OF ANANTAVARMA CHOḌA- GAṆGADEVA.

Name of the King.	Regnal years (aṅka).	Actual number of years.	Period of reign in Śaka years.
1. Kāmārṇava I	36	30	718-747
2. Dānārṇava ..	40	33	747-779
3. Kāmārṇava II ..	50	41	779-819
4. Raṇārṇava ..	5	4	819-822
5. Vajrahasta II	15	13	822-834
6. Kāmārṇava III ..	19	16	834-849
7. Guṇārṇava II	27	22	849-870
8. Jitaṅkusā ..	15	13	870-882
9. Kaligalāṁkusa ..	12	10	882-891
10. Gundama I ..	7	5	891-895
11. Kāmārṇava IV ..	25	21	895-915
12. Vinayāditya ..	3	2	915-916
13. Vajrahasta IV ..	35	29	916-943
14. Kāmārṇava V ..	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	943-944
15. Gundama II ..	3	2	944-945
16. Madhu-Kāmārṇava VI	19	16	945-960

GENEALOGY MODIFIED ACCORDING TO THE NADAYĀM PLATES OF TRIKALIṄGĀDHIPATI ANANTAVARMA VAJRAHASTADEVA (V).

Name of the King.	Regnal years (aṅka).	Actual number of years.	Period of reign in Śaka years.
Kāmārṇava I ..	36	30	700-729
Dānārṇava ..	40	33	729-761
Kāmārṇava II ..	50	41	761-801
Raṇārṇava ..	5	4	801-804
Vajrahasta II ..	15	13	804-816
Kāmārṇava III ..	19	16	816-831
Guṇārṇava II ..	27	22	831-852
Vajrahasta III ..	44	36	852-887
Gundama I ..	3	2	887-888
Kāmārṇava IV ..	34	28	888-915
Vinayāditya ..	3	2	915-916
Vajrahasta IV ..	35	29	916-943
Kāmārṇava V ..	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	943-944
Gundama II ..	3	2	944-945
Madhu-Kāmārṇava VI ..	19	16	945-960

amongst the Kings that had ruled over the Kalinga. It is not against the aṅka system to give a fraction of a year for the period of a King of this kind of reign.

The last year of the reign of Madhu-Kāmārṇava VI was the year in which Vajrahasta V was crowned King.

From the above two tables it may be observed that there is much difference in the reigning periods of Kings from Kāmārṇava I to Kāmārṇava IV; and that Kāmārṇava I reigns from S.S. 718-747 in one and from S.S. 700-729 in the other. Such discrepancies can be found with regard to other matters also in these sets of copperplate grants. Vajrahasta V, the grandfather of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅga is said to be the son of Madhu-Kāmārṇava VI in the Vizagapatam copperplate grant of S.S. 1040 of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅgadēva; while the other plates state that he was the son of Kāmārṇava, the eldest son of Vajrahasta (IV). The presence of such discrepancies, in these plates, show that they are not very reliable documents, but may be accepted as guides to work out the historical truths connected with the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. Consequently, the period of the reign of any King in the list may be taken to begin with the earliest year and end with the last year; i.e. the reign of Kāmārṇava I begins in Śaka year 718 in one and in Śaka year 700 in the other; similarly his reign ends in Śaka year 747 and in Śaka year 729 in the second. So Kāmārṇava I may be supposed to have ruled from S.S. 700 to 747 making a compromise between the data.

It has already been shown that every king named as Kāmārṇava in the list, really bore the name of Madhu-Kāmārṇava. From amidst these six Kings that bore the name of Madhu-Kāmārṇava we have to discover the one into whose reign the year 526 of the Gaṅga era fits; for that purpose we have to carry on detailed calculations on the period of each of these Madhu-Kāmārṇavas. Since we have already tested the years of the rule of Madhu-Kāmārṇava VI and have failed, it may be now given up and detailed calculations may be carried on the years in the period of the reign of each of the remaining Kings of that name. The fifth King of that name may also be omitted as he had not reigned even for one full year. We shall take up the period of reign of Kāmārṇava IV. His reign seems to lie between S.S. 888 and 915. If this King be really the Madhu-Kāmārṇava of our plates, the year 526 of

the Gaṅga era must be one of the years between S.S. 888 and 915.

Then the beginning of the era may be found between S.S. 362 and 389.

1. The 127th year of the era may be found between S.S. 489 and 516.

As it is said that a lunar eclipse¹ had occurred on the full-moon day of Margaśira month of the 127th year of the era, we have to pick up those years only, during the Margaśira month of which there was a lunar eclipse and reject the others.

On the full-moon day of the month of Margaśira of S.S. 500, 501, and 510 only there was a lunar eclipse. Since each of these three years bear the qualification to be accepted as the 127th year of the era, that era must have begun in one of the years S.S. 373, 374 or 383.

2. In the 154th year of the era, a solar eclipse is mentioned. So the 154th year from each of the above is S.S. 527, 528, 537; but there was no solar eclipse in the last. So we have still the two years S.S. 373, 374 for the initial year of the era.

4. A solar eclipse is mentioned in the year 304 of the era. So 304th year from each of these is S.S. 677 and 678. In the first there was no solar eclipse. Since there happened a solar eclipse in S.S. 678 we obtain S.S. 374 as the initial year for the present.

6. A solar eclipse is mentioned to have occurred in the year 397 of the era. So the 397th year from 374 is 771 but no solar eclipse occurred in this year. Consequently the year S.S. 374 cannot have been the beginning of the Gaṅga era. So, the year 526 cannot be one in the reign of Kāmārṇava IV.

Similarly, detailed calculations are carried on the years in the regnal period of Kāmārṇava III and it is found that not even one year of his period was suited to be the 526th year of the Gaṅga era. I now propose to work in detail on the years of the reign of Kāmārṇava II.

¹ All these calculations are in accordance with Sewell's Indian Calendar and Swami Kannu Pillai's Indian Chronology and Prof. Jacobis' Tables.

Kāmārṇava II, S.S. 761-819.

One of the years of this period may be the 526th year of the era. Then the beginning of the era must be in one of the years between S.S. 235 and 293.

1. A lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of the month of Mārgasīra of the year 127 of the era is recorded. If the beginning of the era existed between S.S. 235 and S.S. 293, then the 127th year of the era must be sought for between S.S. 362 and S.S. 420. But the said lunar eclipse is found in the Mārgasīra of S.S. 370, 371, 380, 389, 398, 416, 417, 418.

Corresponding to each of these the initial year is 243, 244, 253, 262, 271, 289, 290, 291.

2. A solar eclipse is recorded in the year 154 of the era. The 154th year from each of the above initial years is 397, 398, 407, 416, 425, 443, 444, 445, but there was no solar eclipse in the year 398. So the corresponding year 244 cannot be the initial year of the era. The years 243, 253, 262, 271, 289, 290, 291 still remain.

3. A solar eclipse is recorded in the year 251 of the era. The 251st year correspondingly is 494, 504, 513, 522, 540, 541, 542. Amongst these there was no solar eclipse in the year 504. So the year 253 cannot be the beginning of the era. The other years still remain.

4. A solar eclipse is recorded in the year 304 of the era. The 304th year from each of the remaining initial years is 566, 575, 593, 594. The years, in which there was no solar eclipse of the 304th year, are scored off. So the years that still remain as initial years are 262, 271, 289, 290.

5. A solar eclipse is recorded in the year 351 of the era. The 351st year from each of the above initial years is 622, 641. The years scored off show that there was no solar eclipse. Still we have to choose the initial year from 271 and 290.

6. A solar eclipse is recorded in the year 397 of the era. The 397th year from each of the above two years is 668, 687. There was no solar eclipse in the year 687. A solar eclipse happened in 668. So the one year 271 remains for the initial year and we shall see if it satisfies the other tests.

7. The solar Māgha in the 91st year of the Kalinga era is said to have 30 days.

91st year from 271 is S.S. 362. In this year the sun entered *makara* at 28 gh 48 v.gh on the 18th December and entered *Kumbha* at 55 gh 48 v.gh on 16th January.

Since the entrance into *makara* was before sun-set on the 18th December, 18th December was the 1st day of the solar month and the 16th January was the last day of it. Consequently 14 days of December and 16 days of January make up the 30 days of the solar *Māgha* month of the year S.S. 362.

The year S.S. 271 satisfies this condition also.

8. The 7th tithi of the bright half of Māgha in the year 182 was Kshaya, which is also very rare.

182nd year from 271 is S.S. 453. In this year in the bright half of the month of Māgha, the 6th tithi ended at Ogh. 36 v.gh (Lanka time) after sunrise on the 31st December; then the 7th tithi began. Yet that whole day was reckoned as the 6th tithi. The 7th tithi ended at ogh. O. vgh. (Lanka time) on the 1st January, i.e. ended before sunrise on the day succeeding 31st December. When the sun rose the 8th tithi began and consequently, the whole of 1st January became reckoned as the 8th tithi. So the 7th tithi lost its reckoning and therefore was Kshaya. Since the 7th tithi of the month of Māgha of the year, S.S. 453 was Kshaya, the year S.S. 271 satisfies this condition also.

Thus the year S.S. 271 satisfies all the eight recorded occurrences. It must be the year in which the Pravardhamāna Vijayarājya era of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty was begun. This year will certainly satisfy the recorded occurrences that may come to light in future, provided those records are correctly read and interpreted.

Since the beginning of the Gaṅga era is now discovered to have begun in the Śaka Samvat 271, the date 526th year of the Gaṅga era corresponds to the Śaka Samvat 797. In this year was reigning on the Kalinga throne Mahārājādhirāja Madhu-Kāvārnadēva (Kāmārnava II of the Vizagapatam plates) and he was the son of Anantavarmadēva.

A copperplate grant under the name of 'the Simhapura copperplate grant of the Kadamba King Dharmakhēdi was recently published in the *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. III, pp. 171ff. The original is now preserved in the Calcutta Museum from which I obtained a clear impression of the document. It states that Dēvēndravarma, son of Anantavarma, and the sovereign of the whole Kalinga was reigning at Kalinganagara in the year 520 of the Kadamba-Gaṅga Pravardhamāna Vijayarājya Śaka. This charter is only 6 years earlier than the charter above discussed and both the charters belong to the reign of the same Kalinga sovereign. The copperplate record under review states that Madhu-Kāvārṇna was the son of Anantavarma and the Simhapur plates state that Devēndravarma was the son of Anantavarma. Consequently, Madhu-Kāvārṇna appears to have borne the imperial title of Dēvēndravarma. Here is another instance to prove that the son and successor of an Anantavarma was called Dēvēndravarma.

From these two sets of plates it becomes evident that Mahārājādhirāja Dēvēndravarma Madhu-Kāvārṇnadeva ruled over the Kalinga during the period from 520 to 526 of the Gaṅga era or from S.S. 791 to S.S. 797 or from A.D. 869 to A.D. 875-76.

TEXT.

First plate.

1. खस्ति¹ [॥*] अमरपुर[१]नुकारिण[रु*]सर्व्व(त्तुसु)खरमणौ-
या[त्*] विजयवतो² [कलिङ्गन*]-
2. गरवासकात् प्रसिधसिध³तापस[१*]ध्यासितकन्दरोदरदरि
महेन्द्राचलामलक-
3. नक्त(गि⁴)रिप्रिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य च(र)।च[र*]गुरो [रु*]सकल-
भुवननिर्माणैक-

¹ Before this there is spiral sign.

² Read वतः

³ Read प्रसिद्धसिद्ध

⁴ The originally inscribed is beaten in and this letter is again written; it is not quite clear.

4. सुच¹धार स²शाङ्गचुडामणे भगवतो गोकर्णस्वामिनश्चरणक-
 5. मलयुगलप्रणामादपगतसकलकलङ्को गङ्गाम-
 6. लकुलतिलक[पू*]श्रीमा³ अनन्तबद्ध⁴देव⁵ तातस्य पुत्रो विपुल-
 7. विक्रमानतानेकभूपालमौ[लि*]मणिं म⁶(रौ?)चि(का)रञ्जि-
 [त*]पादपद्मयुगलः
 8. विमलचित्तार्चितस्तरणिरिषाशेषा⁷ न्यञ्चशब्दादिप्रताप [र*]
 सुरस-

Second plate: First side.

9. रित्कुलामलमहाराजाधिराज[पू*]श्रीमा[न*] मधुकावार्णदेव
 [ः*]कुण्डलि[॥]कलि-
 10. क्लमण्डल प्रतिवधा चिखलिपाञ्चात्यास्तसि चिखलि⁸पाञ्चापुर-
 परमे-
 11. श्वर[ः*]समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दतिमिल⁹परसोभेशप्रत्यन्त¹⁰भैरव
 [पू*]श्रीमा[न*]
 12. कुभालवण¹¹कुलतिलक [पू*]श्री[म*]क्ष्मणारामदेव[ः*]पटुणि-
 ग्रामे-
 13. यस दन्तपुरवास्तव्य वैश्यकुलवडुण [पू*]श्रीमच्चिनाय [र*]त-
 14. स्य सुनु[ः*] परममाहेश्वर[ो*] मातापितृपादानुध्यात एरप-
 नायक
 15. स्य पटुग्रम ह्योडरवडो मोरखिणो त्रयग्रा[म*] समेत वैश्य-
 16. ग्रहारक्षिता¹² सप्रदत्तमिति¹³[।*] राणकराजपुत्रविषयपति सम

1 Read मूत्र

2 Read शशाङ्गचूडा

3 Read श्रीमान्

4 Read वर्ण

5 Read देवः तस्य

6 Read मणिर्न

7 From विमल to शेषा the line is obscure.

8 From प्रतिवधा to चिखलि is another obscure line.

9 Read तुमुल

10 Read प्रत्यन्त

11 Read कुभालवंश

12 Read ग्रहारक्षिता

13 Read सम्प्रदत्तमिति

Second plate: Second side.

17. स्तराजपादोपजीविना¹ चतु[र*]स्त्रीमावच्छिनसजलस्थल सर्व-
पौड़ावाधविवर्जित²
18. अचटभटप्रवेश³चन्द्रार्कक्षिति समकाल ॥ अत्र सिमालिङ्गानि
कथ्यन्ते[ः—*]
19. पूर्वैव डेला⁴भार्गगता तिनृणि त्रय । आग्नेयदिशाया[म्*]
ढकुटराज-
20. पथगर्ता भ्रमशान गाड़ अइच्छा⁵ । तिमिरवृक्षयोव⁶वडनन्दि-
वृक्षरो
21. पितृशिल तिनृणि त्रय वापिकापालि ॥ दक्षिणि⁷दिशाया[म्*]
पव⁸तिसि-
22. खर[ः*] नैरिथ⁹दिशाया[म्]गर्ता शिलः । पश्चिमदिशाया-
(पक्केन)गर्ता-
23. शिल[ः] वायव्यदिशाया[म्*] चुनगोड़ि¹⁰कुपो[ः] उतर¹¹
दिशायम् ॥ लुङ्गलुहा गाड़ प-
24. व्वतद्रोणि वृहत्पर्वतउतर¹²द्रोणि दयपर्वतमध्ये द्रोणि गर्ता
25. वापिकापालि अश्वथ्यवृक्ष[ः*]गर्ता नन्दिवृक्ष[ः] कदम्बवृक्ष[ः*]
तिन्तृ[णि*]

1 Read °जीविनां समाह्वय समाज्ञापयति । चतुस्त्रीमावच्छिन्न etc.

2 Read °विवर्जितः

3 Read after प्रवेश, भूमिच्छिद्रापिधान्यायेना चन्द्रार्कक्षितिकालं यावत्

4 Read डेला which means crooked.

5 The word is obscure—perhaps it is intended to be अनीत्य

6 Read यावत्

7 Read दक्षिण

8 Read पर्वत

9 Read नैरिथ

10 Read चुनगोड़िकूपः

11 Read उत्तर

12 Read उत्तर

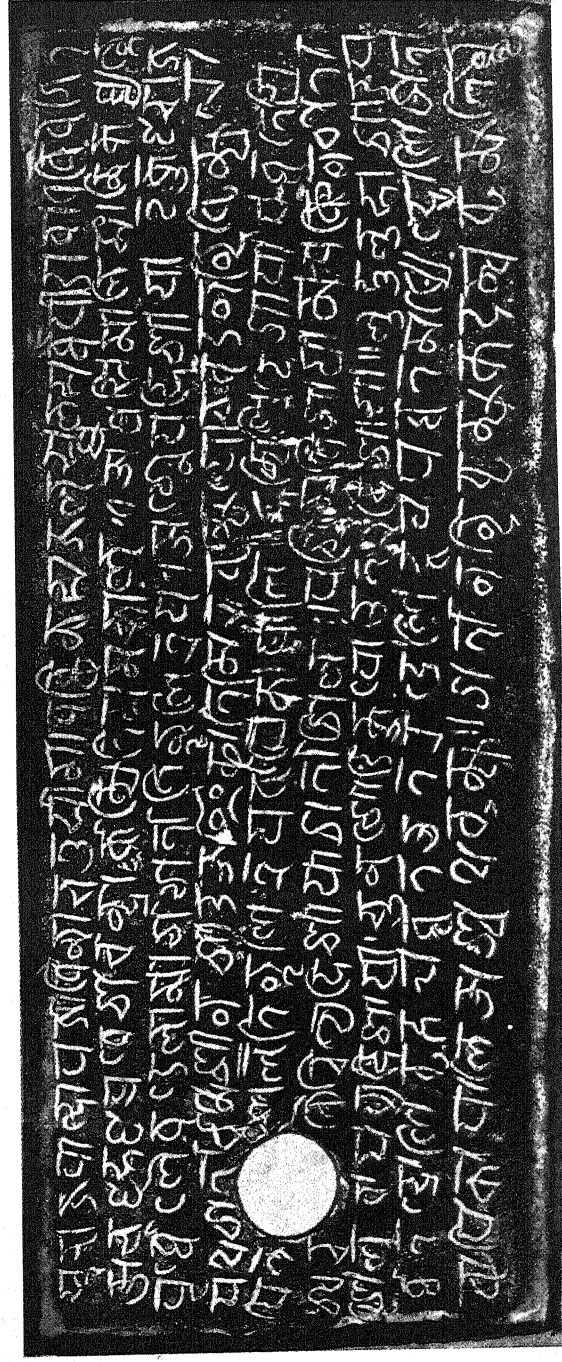
PLATE I.



Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu=Kāvārnadeva,
dated 526 Ganga era.

J. B. O. R. S., 1932.

PLATE II < Reverse >.

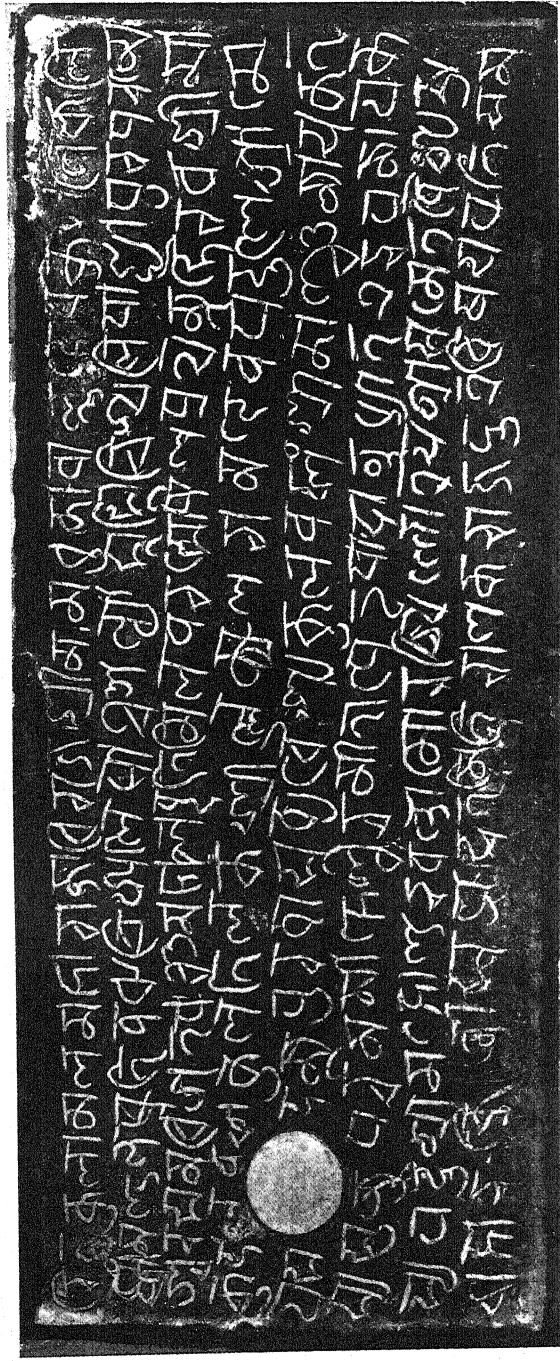


Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu=Kāvārnadeva,
dated 526 Ganga era.

J. B. O. R. S., 1932.



PLATE II < Obverse >.



Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Kāvārnadeva,
dated 526 Gāṅga era.

J. B. O. R. S., 1932.

PLATE III.



Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu=Kāvārnadeva,
dated 526 Ganga era.

Third plate.

26. वल्मि¹करोपितशिल तिवृत्ति गता वल्मि²क[ः] तत³रोपित-
शिला
27. द्वयतिष्ठति[*]ईशा[न]दिशाया[म्*] राजण वृत्त[ः]वाल्मि⁴क
[*]गता पर्वततल
28. मार्गा ॥ सत्रस्य भुमि । सुरय प्रतद्वय २०० । दोलिमृगवेष्ट⁵
29. पोड़ा भोइ ॥ रेवन रा[उ]त । गोलुपटले ॥ आपत्ति पड़ ।
वज्रभि-
30. वंसघादता⁶ राजान[र]गरादिभि[ः]*] यस्य यस्य यदा भुमि
[*]त
31. स्य तस्य तदाफल[म्*] स्वदता⁷परदतम्बा यो हरेति [व*]सु-
[*]धरा[म्*] । वष्टिं
32. वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते कृमिः । दात्त देट प्रतरूप्य १५०
33. गङ्गप्रवर्द्धविजयराज्यसम्बत्सर⁸ अङ्गेनापि ५२६[*] कलिङ्ग-
नगरवास्तव्य[मा]धवसुनु⁹[ः]म-
34. धुसु¹⁰दनेन लिखित[*] लेखकस्य भुमि¹¹[ः*] सुरय ४०
अच्छशालि रणामेन उत्तिकिरित[म्¹²] ॥

¹ Read वल्मीक² Read वल्मीक³ Read ततो⁴ Read वल्मीकः⁵ Read ०पेष्ट⁶ Read ०दत्ता⁷ Read ०स्वदत्तापरदत्त⁸ Read ०त्पराणि⁹ Read ०सुनुः¹⁰ Read ०धुसु¹¹ Read ०भूमिः¹² Read उत्कीरितम्

III.—On the extent of Harṣa's Empire.

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The problem of the extent of the Kanauj Empire under Harṣa has been a frequent and fruitful source of controversy. Indeed, the subject has received so much attention that one may well wonder if there is any further room for discussion. But I venture to say that the investigations of a number of scholars like Dr. R. K. Mookerji,¹ Dr. R. C. Majumdar,² Mr. N. Ray,³ Mr. C. V. Vaidya and others, though quite helpful, are far from being the last word on this knotty question. I, therefore, propose to discuss it in this paper, taking into consideration the following pertinent points :—

- (a) The limits of Harṣa's paternal kingdom of Thaneshvar, which he inherited after the assassination of Rājyavardhana ;
- (b) The extent of the Maukhari dominions, which came under Harṣa after his seat of Government was transferred to Kanauj⁴ ;
- (c) The territorial acquisitions of Harṣa as a result of his campaigns and conquests ;
- (d) Yuan Chwang's testimony regarding the political status of the countries he visited, and the relations they bore to Kanauj. I now proceed to deal with them one by one.

A.

The kingdom of Thaneshvar, which had a modest beginning, appears to have been augmented to a certain extent, both in

¹ *Harṣa* (Rulers of India Series), Chapter II, p. 22 f.

² *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1923, p. 311 f.; also see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, V, 1929, pp. 229-236.

³ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Dec., 1927, pp. 769-93.

⁴ See my article on the 'Early position of Harṣa' in the *Malaviyaji Commemoration volume*, pp. 261-76.

territory and influence, under Prabhākara-vardhana, as he is the first to be called Mahārājādhirāja in the family inscriptions (e.g. the Madhuban plate). The *Harṣacarita* calls him 'a lion to the Hūṇa deer, a burning fever to the king of the Indus land, a troubler of the sleep of Gujarat, a bilious plague to that scent-elephant the lord of Gāndhāra, a looter to the lawlessness of the Lāṭas, an axe to the creeper of Malwa's glory'.¹ This passage, although significant as regards the different powers existing at the time, however, hardly warrants our concluding, as has been done by Mr. C. V. Vaidya,² that these states had been actually conquered and annexed by Prabhākara-vardhana. On the other hand, there is evidence that the 'Hūṇa deer,' instead of being overawed and cowed, was trying to pounce upon the 'lion' himself, for towards the close of his reign the kingdom was seriously disturbed by the Hūṇa menace, and Prabhākara had to dispatch the crown-prince at the head of a strong force to cope with the danger. Hence making allowance for exaggeration, it appears that in the above passage we have only a poetical description of Prabhākara's excellence and greatness as compared with the other contemporary rulers.

According to Bühler,³ Prabhākara's possessions did not go beyond the limits of the kingdom of Thanesvar, described by Yuan Chwang, which, as Sir Alexander Cunningham⁴ suggests, probably included portions of Southern Panjab and of Eastern Rajputana. 'A State, the circuit of which amounted to 7,000 *li*, or 1,200 miles, might exercise a considerable influence, keep its neighbours in fear, and afford to a very talented king the means for greater conquests'.⁵ We may thus conclude that the North-Western Frontiers of Thanesvar were limited by the Hūṇa territories in the Panjab. In the east, it was conterminous

¹ Translated by Cowell and Thomas. See 1897 Edition, p. 101. Hūṇaharipakesari Sindhurājajvaro Gurjaraprajāgaraḥ Gāndhārādhipa-hastijvaro Lāṭapaṭavapaṭachcharo Mālava Lakshmilatāparasuh (Calcutta Edition, pp. 243-4).

² *H.M.H.I.*, Vol. I, p. 1 f. See also Dr. R. K. Mookerji's *Harṣa*, p. 11, where Prabhākara is said to have attained the position of an Emperor.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 69.

⁴ *Ancient Geo. of India*, p. 328 (Cunningham's Edition).

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 69.

with the Maukhari kingdom of Kanauj; and on the west and south it probably did not go much beyond the Rajputana desert.

B.

Although it is difficult to fix the limits of the Maukhari jurisdiction during the zenith of their power with any considerable degree of certainty, a consideration of the provenance of coins and inscriptions of the dynasty, along with their internal evidence, will help us to some extent to lift the obscurity that hangs over this problem.

To begin with the coins, some of them were found in Ahichchhatra, a few miles to the north-west of Kanauj¹; and others were procured at Ayodhya. Sir Richard Burn has further discussed a large hoard of Maukhari coins that was discovered in Bhitaura in the Fyzabad District of the United Provinces.²

Two seals were discovered in Nalanda³; but as the 'lower right quadrant with about half the writing is lost,' we cannot say definitely to which reign they belong.

The Jaunpur (U.P.) inscription⁴ records some achievements of Īśvaravarman, but if one reads it carefully it would appear that they do not refer to any of his actual conquests, but merely to his bold stand against the enemies' aggressions.

Next, the Haraha inscription found in the Bara-Banki District (near Lucknow) of the United Provinces,⁵ mentions Īśānavarman's victories over the Andhras, the Śulikas, and the Gaudas, who, according to Mr. N. G. Majumdar 'were all compelled to accept his sovereignty'.⁶ But a close perusal of the inscription hardly justifies our drawing this conclusion. It describes the Gaudas as being forced 'in future to remain within their proper realm,' which shows that they were only checked in the course of their aggrandizement. Besides, Īśānavarman could not extend his suzerainty as far as

¹ Arch. Surv., Rep. IX, p. 27. *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 136.

² *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p. 843 f.

³ Arch. Surv. Rep., Eastern circle, 1917-18, p. 44.

⁴ Fleet's C. I. I., Vol. III, No. 51, pp. 228-30.

⁵ Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 110 f. ⁶ Ind. Ant., 1917, p. 127.

Gauḍadeśa, when he had to bow to the steel of a king of an intermediate territory, viz. Kumāragupta, the later Gupta monarch of Magadha. Probably the Andhras and the Śūlikas were likewise the aggressors, and Īśānavarman's engagements with them were more or less of the nature of a successful trial of arms, no annexation of their territories or imposition of Īśānavarman's authority being implied.

Here we must also consider a seal that was found in Asirgaḍh in the Nimad District of the Central Provinces.¹ Its discovery at a place situated so far south should not, however, be taken as proof that Asirgaḍh was a sort of a 'Maukhari outpost' in the Deccan, as observed by Mr. Aravamuthan.² Fleet rightly points out that the mere finding of the inscription at Asirgaḍh of course does not suffice in any way to connect the members of this family of Maukharis with that locality. Their territory probably lay some hundreds of miles more to the east.³ Coins and seals, being small and portable, can easily be carried far away from the actual place of their origin. As an instance, we may observe that a seal of Bhāskaravarman of Kamarūpa or Assam was found in Nalanda, although it is known beyond doubt that this region was never included within his realm.

The Aphsad inscription⁴ further informs us that Dāmodara-gupta suffered a fatal defeat at the hands of a 'Maukhari' whom we identify with Sarvavarman. It also appears that probably the death of this Later Gupta king was followed by the annexation of Magadha—or at least its western parts—to the Maukhari dominions. The Deo-Baranark inscription⁵ lends welcome support to this theory, since it records the confirmation of a grant by two Maukhari rulers—Sarvavarman and Avantivarman—in the region of Arrah (Shahabad District).

Lastly, we may notice the testimony of the Nirmand inscription, found at a place almost on the bank of the Sutlej in the Kangra District of the Panjab.⁶ It mentions the grant

¹ Fleet, C.I.I., No. 47, pp. 219-221.

² *The Kaveri, the Maukhari, and the Sangam Age*, p. 97.

³ C.I.I., No. 47, p. 220.

⁴ C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 206.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁶ Fleet, C.I.I., p. 287 f.

of a Mahārāja Sarvavarman; and 'as we know of no other Sarvavarman of about this period,' says Mr. Aravamuthan, 'we may tentatively assume that the Maukhari Sarvavarman had been able to extend his dominions so far west in the course of his wars with the Hūṇas'.¹ The assumption, however, does not seem cogent. The Maukhari Sarvavarman is uniformly given the paramount titles of Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara in the dynastic records, whereas the Sarvavarman of the Nirmand inscription is a mere Mahārāja. Moreover, it would involve the supposition that the Maukharis exercised suzerainty over the intervening Vardhana dominions, and Prabhākara, who certainly was an independent king, had to fight against the Maukharis to wrest independence. Of this there is not a shred of evidence; but on the contrary the manner of description in the *Harṣacarita* shows that both the powers were on very amicable and cordial terms.

Excluding Asirgaḍh and Nirmand, we may therefore summarily say that during its fullest expansion the Maukhari kingdom of Kanauj extended up to Ahichchhatra and the frontier of the Thanesvar kingdom on the West; to Nalanda on the East; on the North it may have touched the Tarai districts; and on the South it probably did not go beyond the southern boundaries of the present United Provinces.²

Now, we must bear in mind that Harṣa, who was already king of Thanesvar by succession, became master of all these Maukhari territories also when he dexterously stepped into their shoes, although it may be possible that he had to fight again, and bring to subjection any unruly or malcontent parts that had seized the opportunity to assert themselves during the Gauḍa-Malwa disturbance.

C.

Regarding the conquests of Harṣa, we do not again seem to stand on certain ground for want of definite details. We admittedly have some vague generalities in the accounts of the admiring Yuan Chwang, e.g. 'Proceeding eastward, he invaded

¹ *The Kaveri, the Maukhari, and the Sangam Age*, p. 93.

² See for a different view, *Ibid.*, pp. 96-101; C. V. Vaidya's *H.M. H.I.*, Vol. I, p. 39.

the states which had refused allegiance; and waged incessant warfare until in six years he fought the 'Five Indias' (according to the other reading: 'had brought the Five Indias under allegiance').¹ Again we are told: 'he was soon able to make himself *Master of India*. His renown was spread abroad everywhere'.² And lastly, speaking of Mahārāṣṭra Yuan Chwang says: 'At the present time Śīlāditya Mahārāja has conquered the nations from East to West, and carried his arms to remote districts'.³ But nowhere does the worthy pilgrim mention how, when, and what kingdoms were conquered by Harṣa.

Nor is the evidence of Bāṇa more helpful on this point. Unfortunately his account abruptly comes to a stop, and he does not even inform us how Harṣa proceeded against the Gauda king, who was the immediate object of his wrath. True, Bāṇa alludes to 'riders intently occupied in rehearsing the approaching Gauda war'.⁴ And the learned translators of the *Harṣacarita* detect an indirect reference to the campaign in the concluding paragraph, in which 'the sunset is described in terms suggesting bloody wars and the fall of Harṣa's enemy, followed by the rising of the moon of Harṣa's glory'.⁵ But there are evidences—to be discussed below—which preclude our drawing any such inference. Śaśāṅka evaded Harṣa's grasp, and continued to flourish till a considerably late date.

We are further informed by Bāṇa that Harṣa, 'the greatest of all men, having pounded the king of Sindh, made his wealth his own',⁶ and also 'exactd tribute from an inaccessible land of the snowy mountains'.⁷ What these statements are worth, we shall consider in connection with the testimony of Yuan

¹ Watters, I, p. 323; Beal, I, p. 213.

² *Life*, p. 83.

³ Watters, II, p. 239; Beal, II, pp. 256-57.

⁴ Translation by Cowell and Thomas, p. 209.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 250, note 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 76. 'Atra puruṣottamena Sindhurājāṃ pramathya lakṣmīrātmīyā kritā'.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 'Atra paramēśvareṇa tuṣāraśailabhuvō durgāyā grahitāḥ karaḥ'.

Chwang regarding the status of the different kingdoms that he visited. Lastly, we may note the Imperial titles given to Harṣa, which may indicate his widespread power and suzerainty. Bāṇa calls him: 'king of kings, the lord of the Four Oceans, whose toe-nails are burnished by the crest-gems of all other monarchs, the leader of all emperors'.¹ Far from urging that these pompous expressions argue Harṣa's paramount status, we might say that these high-sounding titles were sometimes conventional among the courtly panegyrists, and were used in a very loose way.

D.

As the *Harṣacarita* stubbornly refuses to give any better clue to the suzerainty of Harṣa, we must now turn to our next guide, the indefatigable Chinese pilgrim, for help in unravelling the apparent indefiniteness of the power and influence of Kanauj over the surrounding territories. It may be noted here that the *Records* of Yuan Chwang are no political gazetteer. He came to India, defying the difficulties and hardships presented in his progress by both nature and man, on a mission that was primarily Buddhistic in its outlook and purpose. He makes only incidental references to the government of different States, and as such they are all the more valuable and trustworthy. We should, therefore, analyse the testimony of Yuan Chwang in conjunction with that of the *Life* and indigenous epigraphs; and try to deduce conclusions as to the extent of the kingdom of Kanauj under Harṣa after learning the exact political status of the territories of the north, which Yuan Chwang visited, or of which he had heard.

The illustrious pilgrim begins his description from Lan-po, although the countries described by him from Lan-po to Rajaur (Bajaur), both inclusive, were regarded by the inhabitants of India as 'borderlands', inhabited by 'barbarians', and not part of their territory. One of the most powerful kingdoms in the

¹ 'Devadevasya chatuhsamudrādhīpateḥ sakalarājachakrachūḍāmaṇi
Sreṇī sana konakashana nirmalīkrita-charaṇa-nakhamaneḥ sarva
chakravartināṁ dhaureyasya mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Śrī-Harṣa
devasya.' (Cal. Ed., p. 112.)

north-west was Kapisa with several dependencies, some of which were Lam-pa or Lan-po,¹ Nagar identified with modern Nungnehar,² Gandhāra,³ and Falana or Varana.⁴ We are unable to ascertain who was the king of Kapisa; but we are informed that he was a Kshatriya and an adherent of Buddhism. And as we are further told that 'his power extended over more than ten of the neighbouring lands,'⁵ we may be sure that he was a strong and an absolutely independent ruler.

The next kingdom of importance visited by Yuan Chwang was Kashmir, which held sway over many outlying lands, such as Takshasīla (modern Shah-Dher)⁶; Simhapura, identified with Narasimha or Ketas 'situated on the north side of the Salt Range'; Wu-la-shih or Urasa, corresponding with modern Hazara⁸; Pan-ni-tso (modern Punch)⁹; Ho-lo-she-pu-lo or Rajauri.¹⁰ Unfortunately the *Life* and the *Records* are both silent regarding the name of the Kashmirian monarch, who treated the pilgrim with marked ceremonious respect, and 'gave him twenty clerks to copy out manuscripts and five men to act as attendants.'¹¹ The *Rājatarangini*, however, affords us a clue, for, according to Kalhaṇa, Durlabhavardhana, who inaugurated the Karkoṭa dynasty, came to the throne in 3677 of the Laukika era, or 601 A.D. He ruled for 36 years, which makes him exactly contemporary with Harṣa and Yuan Chwang.

Dr. R. K. Mookerji tries to show on the supposed authority of the *Life* that Kashmir 'in a way acknowledged the suzerainty of Harṣa.'¹² To quote its testimony, we are told that 'Śilādityarāja hearing that Kashmir possessed a tooth of the Buddha, coming in person to the chief frontier asked permission

¹ Watters, I, p. 181; Beal, I, p. 90.

² Watters, I, p. 183; Beal, I, p. 91.

³ Watters, I, p. 199; Beal, I, p. 98.

⁴ Watters, II, p. 262; Beal, II, p. 281. ⁵ Watters, I, p. 123.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 240; Beal, I, p. 136.

⁷ *Anc. Geo. of Ind.*, p. 125; Watters, I, p. 248.

⁸ Watters, I, p. 256; Beal, I, p. 147.

⁹ Watters, I, p. 283; Beal, I, p. 163.

¹⁰ Watters, I, p. 284; Beal, I, p. 163.

¹¹ Watters, I, p. 259.

¹² *Harṣa*, p. 40.

to see and worship it'.¹ The congregation was unwilling to accede to this request, and concealed the tooth, but the king of Kashmir fearing the exalted character of Harṣa, had the tooth unearthed and presented to him. Then 'Śilāditya seeing it was overpowered with reverence, and exercising force, carried it off to pay it religious offerings'.² The episode, as narrated in the *Life*, will hardly bear the interpretation put upon it; and the expression that Śilāditya carried off the tooth by 'exercising force' probably means nothing more than that he brought it to Kanauj much against the wish of the people of Kashmir, who were even unwilling to allow Harṣa to see and worship the relic. There could be no question of any fight with the king of Kashmir, as the latter presented the sacred tooth to Harṣa of his own accord. Presumably a display of force, or a mere threat helped Harṣa to obtain the prized object; but any conclusions as to his authority being recognised in the valley are totally unwarranted.

We may here also consider a passage occurring in the *Rājataranginī*, which runs as follows:—

Idaṁ svabhedavidhuram Harṣādīnām dharābhujām kañcit kālam abhūd bhojyām tataḥ prabhriti maṇḍalam, i.e. 'From that period onwards this country, which had suffered from internal dissensions, was for some time subject to Harṣa and other kings'.³

Tempting as the identification might seem, this Harṣa should not be confused with the Harṣa of Kanauj, as has been done by Mr. N. Ray.⁴ Firstly, the 'chronological aberration,' as noted by Stein,⁵ should preclude any such supposition; and secondly, this Harṣa had a son, who is reputed to have ruled after him, whereas the Harṣa of Kanauj left no successor, and this was probably one of the reasons why the empire collapsed soon after his death. It would thus appear from the foregoing discussion that we have no grounds for believing that Kashmir owed allegiance to Harṣa.

¹ *Life*, p. 183; See also Watters, I, p. 279.

² *Ibid.*

³ Stein's Translation, Vol. I, Bk. II, verse 7, p. 56.

⁴ Ind. Hist. Quart., Dec., 1927, p. 780.

⁵ Stein's *Rājataranginī*, p. 56, note 7.

The pilgrim then proceeded to the *Cheh-ka* (Takka) country, lying between the Indus and the Pi-po-she (Beas). It is said to have possessed numerous *Puṇyaśālas*, or free rest-houses, where medicine and food were distributed, and where bodily wants and conveniences were looked after.¹ It had two dependencies, Mou-lo-san-pu or Multan,² and Po-fa-to,³ identified with Parvata (Pavvata). Cheh-ka was thus another flourishing kingdom outside the pale of Harṣa's jurisdiction.

She-lan-ta-lo or Jalandhara was the next great kingdom visited by Yuan Chwang. We are told of a king of this country, who learning Buddhism from an Arhat, became a zealous believer. Thereupon the king of 'Mid India', appreciating his sincere faith, gave him sole control of matters relating to Buddhism in all India. He also travelled throughout India, and erected topes or monasteries at all sacred places.⁴ The king of 'Mid India' may or may not be identified with Harṣa, but it is certain that the latter did exercise some measure of influence over this kingdom, as we learn from the *Life*⁵ that he charged the king of Jalandhara (named Wuti=Wuddhi or Buddhi)⁶ to escort the pilgrim in safety to the frontiers.

Following the Chinese Master's itinerary as far as Nepal we find that he visited the following places, about whose governments he does not give us any particular information:—

I. *Ku-lu-to*, corresponding 'with the position of Kullu in the upper valley of the Beas river.'⁷

II. *She-to-tu-lo*, or the Sataдру country.

III. *Mo-tu-lo*, or Mathura.⁸

IV. *Sa-ta-ni-ssn-fa-lo*: identical with ancient Sthanisvara and modern Thanesar in the Ambala district.⁹ Curiously enough, Yuan Chwang is silent as to its ruler, and makes no reference to the Vardhanas.

¹ Watters, I, p. 286; Beal, I, p. 167.

² Watters, II, p. 254; Beal, II, p. 274.

³ Watters, II, p. 255; Beal, II, p. 275.

⁴ Watters, I, p. 296; Beal, I, p. 176.

⁵ *Life*, pp. 189-190.

⁶ Watters restores the name Wu-ti or Wu-ti-to as Uditto.

⁷ *Anc. Geo. of India*, p. 142.

⁸ Beal, I, p. 180 f.

⁹ *Anc. Geo. of India*, pp. 328-9.

V. *Srughna*: identified with the modern village of Sugh.¹ Yuan Chwang says that the capital was 'in a ruinous condition'.

VI. *Po-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo*, or Brahmapura.

VII. *Ku-pi-sang-na* (Govishana): according to Cunningham this 'corresponded very nearly to the modern districts of Kashipur, Rampur, and Pilibhit'.²

VIII. *Ngo-hi-chi-ta-lo* (Ahichchhatra): occupying the eastern part of Rohilkhand.

IX. *Pi-lo-shan-na*: identified with the ruins called At-ranjikhera on the Kalinadi.

X. *Kapittha* or *Sankasya*: identified with modern Sankissa.

XI. *A-yu-te*, or Ayodhya.

XII. *A-ya-mu-kha* (Hayamukha): represented by Daundia-kher on the northern bank of the Ganges.³

XIII. *Prayaga*, or modern Allahabad.

XIV. *Kosambi*: Dr. Vincent Smith thought that the Satna railway station marks its approximate position,⁴ whereas Mr. Dayaram Sahni identifies it with Kosam.⁵

XV. *Pi-sho-ka*.

XVI. *Shi-lo-fa-si-tu*: identified with Sravasti or modern Sahet-Mahet.⁶

XVII. *Rāma* or *Rāmagrama*: 'This had been waste and wild for a long time, and its area was not defined: its towns were heaps of ruins, and there was a very scanty population.'⁷

XVIII. *Kusinagara* or modern Kasia⁸: 'The city walls were in ruins, and the towns and villages were deserted.'⁹

XIX. *Po-lo-na-se* (Varānasi or modern Benares): 'The inhabitants were very numerous, and had boundless wealth, but they cared little for Buddhism.'¹⁰

¹ *Anc. Geo. of India*, p. 346. ² *Ibid.*, p. 357. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

⁴ *J.R.A.S.*, 1898, p. 503 f. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 1927, p. 689 f.

⁶ See Vincent Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1900, p. 1 f., for a different identification.

⁷ Watters, II, p. 20; Beal, II, p. 26.

⁸ Arch. Surv. Ind., XVIII, Pref. and p. 55.

⁹ Watters, II, p. 26; Beal, II, p. 32.

¹⁰ Watters, II, p. 47; Beal, II, p. 44.

XX. *Fei-she-li*, or Vaisali.

XXI. *Fu-li-chih* (or the Vriji country): 'The chief city was called Chan-shu-na; it was in a ruinous state, and the old walled city, which was like a country town, had a population of over 3,000 families.'¹

Yuan Chwang, however, makes specific mention of the governments of the following territories that fell on his way from Rājapura to Nepal:—

I. *Po-li-ye-ta-lo*: Reinaud identifies this district with 'Paryatra or Bairat,' and Cunningham subscribes to this view.² We are told: 'The king, who was of the Fei-she (Vaiśya) stock, was a man of courage and military skill.'³

II. *Mo-ti-pu-lo* (Matipura): identified by Saint Martin and Cunningham with Madawar or Mandawar, a large town in Western Rohilkhand, near Bijnor.⁴ Yuan Chwang says: 'The king who was of the Sūdra stock, did not believe in Buddhism, and worshipped the Devas.'⁵

III. *The Suvarṇagotra country*: It was said to lie to the north of Brahmapura, and was called 'the Eastern Woman's Country', because it was ruled by a succession of women. The husband of the queen was king, but he did not administer the government.⁶

IV. *Kapilavastu*: The 'royal city' was a complete waste, and as the district had been left desolate for a very long time, it was only sparsely inhabited. 'The country was without a sovereign, each city having its own chief.'⁷

The next important kingdom mentioned by the Master of the Law is *Nepal* (*Ni-po-lo*), about which unhappily he has just a few words to say: 'The kings of Nepal were Kshatriya

¹ Watters, II, p. 81; Beal, II, p. 78.

² *Anc. Geo. of India*, p. 337.

³ Watters, I, p. 300; Beal, I, p. 179.

⁴ *Anc. Geo. of India*, pp. 348-49.

⁵ Watters, I, p. 322; Beal, I, p. 190; *Life*, p. 79.

⁶ Watters, I, p. 330; Beal, I, p. 199. This country is probably identical with the Suvarṇabhū in the north-east division of the Brihat-Samhitā, which Kern regards as 'in all likelihood a mythical land' (*Ind. Ant.*, XXII, p. 190).

⁷ Watters, II, p. 1; Beal, II, p. 14.

Lichchhavis, and they were eminent scholars and believing Buddhists. A *recent king*, whose name is given as Ang-shu-fa-na or Amśuvarman had composed a treatise on etymology.¹ It has usually been assumed on the authority of Bühler, Bhagvan Lal Indraji,² Fleet, Vincent Smith, that Nepal came under the suzerainty of Harṣa; but this view has also been called to question by Sylvain Lévi, Ettinghausen and others. The problem being so controversial, we must critically examine the available evidence before coming to any conclusion. To begin with the arguments adduced in support of Harṣa's conquest of Nepal:—

(a) Certain Nepalese inscriptions³ have been discovered, and among them there are some that refer to a king named Amśuvarman; these are dated in the years 34, 39, and 45. He is described in these inscriptions as a mere *Sāmānta* or *Mahā-sāmānta*; and since 'it is an indisputable axiom that nobody but an anointed king can initiate a *Samvat* of his own'⁴ Amśuvarman has been ruled out as a possible originator of the era in which they are dated. Yuan Chwang calls Amśuvarman a 'recent king'; and the characters of the inscriptions are also said to belong to the close of the sixth, or the early part of the seventh century A.D.⁵ Hence, the dates have with some plausibility been referred to the Harṣa era, as at this period it was 'in widest use'; and 'no other known Indian era can meet the requirements of the case.'⁶ Granting this circumstance, it necessarily implies the subordination of Nepal to Kanauj, for no other independent monarch would use the era started by another.⁷

¹ Watters, II, p. 84; Beal, II, p. 81.

² Ind. Ant., XIII, p. 411 f.

³ See Ind. Ant., IX, p. 169 f. Nos. 6, 7 and 8; Kielhorn's Nos. 531-33. The numbers quoted hereafter refer to the list of Indraji and Bühler, Ind. Ant., IX, p. 168.

⁴ Ind. Ant., XIII, p. 420. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 418. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 421.

⁷ The following remark seems apposite here: If an Indian prince adopts a new foreign era, especially one founded by a contemporary, that may be considered as almost a certain proof that the borrower had to submit to the *Saka-kartri*, or establisher of the era (Ind. Ant., XIX, p. 40).

(b) That the Harṣa era was used in Nepal is further maintained on the evidence of inscription No. 15, dated Samvat 153,¹ which states that Jayadeva's mother, Vatsadevi, was the daughter of a Maukhari prince or chief, Bhogavarman, and the grand-daughter of 'the great Ādityasena, the illustrious lord of Magadha.' We know Ādityasena of Magadha from the Shahpur stone image inscription,² dated year 66 of an unspecified era, which 'from the known facts of Ādityasena's history is that of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj.'³ Now, the distance between this date and that of his grandson Jayadeva is 87 years, or slightly above the duration of three Indian generations, which amount to 78 years approximately.⁴ 'Under these circumstances,' it is asserted that 'it is not in the least doubtful that the great-grandfather and great-grandson used the same era,'⁵ viz. that of Harṣa.

(c) The *Vaṃśāvali* informs us that immediately before the accession of Aṃśuvarman, Vikramāditya came to the country, and established his era there. It is argued that this statement preserves a reminiscence of Harṣa's conquest of Nepal, as at this period the name Vikramāditya could have reference to Harṣa only among Indian kings.

(d) A 'much stronger argument' is found in the existence of the Bais Rajputs in Nepal according to the testimony of the *Vaṃśāvali*. 'Since it is an almost universal rule with Indian princes that on the occasion of conquests they grant a portion of land to their clansmen',⁶ probably we have here a direct proof that Nepal was once in the power of a Bais king, who could be nobody else but Harṣa of Kanauj, as we know on the authority of Yuan Chwang that he belonged to the *Feishe* caste, identified by Sir Alexander Cunningham with the Bais Rajputs.⁷

¹ *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 178-83.

² C.I.I., Vol. III, pp. 209-10.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

⁴ Bhagvan Lal Indrajit and Bühler assure us that 'in India the duration of a generation amounts, as the statistical tables of the life-insurance companies show, at the outside to only 26 years' (*Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 417).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 421.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 420-21.

⁷ *Anc. Geo. of India*, pp. 377-8.

(e) Lastly, we might mention the oft-quoted passage of Bāṇa that Harṣa 'exacted tribute from an inaccessible country of snowy mountains,' which has been construed as referring to Nepal. Apparently, there is some force in these arguments; but they are open to serious objections. First, if the dates of the inscriptions of Amśuvarman be accepted as referring to the Harṣa era, the last known date for him according to inscription No. 8 would be A.D. $606 + 45 = 651$ A.D. The *Records* on the other hand imply by the word 'recent' that Amśuvarman's reign had terminated shortly before the pilgrim's visit in about 637 A.D. And we have, therefore, a discrepancy of about 14 years between the two testimonies. Scholars try to overcome this difficulty by suggesting that the pilgrim did not himself go to Nepal, and his evidence was mere hearsay, 'liable to be coloured and distorted by misunderstanding or misrepresentation.' The assumption, however, is quite gratuitous, for Yuan Chwang was a careful and trustworthy writer, who invariably tried to ascertain facts and write them down correctly. He moved in the highest circles, among powerful potentates and celebrated monks, who could certainly be relied upon to supply correct information.¹ Besides, Yuan Chwang mentions the countries that he did not visit, and as an instance we may cite the case of the six countries beyond Samatāṭa, regarding which he speaks only on information gained here and there.² Thus there can be no doubt about the pilgrim's testimony, and so to reconcile the conflicting evidence we must refer the dates in the inscriptions to some other era instead of that of Harṣa. Yuan Chwang's visit to those parts has been fixed at about 637 A.D. We also know from inscriptions Nos. 8 and 9 that Amśuvarman died, and his successor was on the throne, between Samvat 45 and 48. Hence, assuming that Amśuvarman was dead a couple of years before the pilgrim's visit, and that the date 45 denotes the last year of his reign, we come to the conclusion that the reckoning in the inscriptions began in the year 590 A.D.

¹ See also *Journal of the Mythic Society*. Unfortunately I have lost the exact reference to this article, which was available to me in the British Museum, and to which I owe some suggestions.

² Watters, II, p. 187.

approximately. The fact that Amśuvarman was a mere *Sāmanta* or *Mahāsāmanta* need not present any obstacle in adopting this view. Probably he did not start any era formally soon after his accession, but at first dated the inscriptions in the years of his reign. Later on, when he assumed the supreme power in the land, he converted it into an era, dating back to the beginning of his rule; and the same reckoning was continued by his successors. Amśuvarman's earliest inscription is dated Saṁvat 34, and Saṁvat undoubtedly indicates an era.

At this point we may be called upon to explain how he could commence an era, when his master was alive in Saṁvat 39. It would appear that Śivadeva was only the nominal ruler, whereas the real power was vested in Amśuvarman, who is referred to in inscription No. 5 of Śivadeva as one 'who has destroyed the power of all (my) enemies by his heroic majesty' and 'whose brilliant fame, gained by the trouble of properly protecting the subjects, pervades the universe'.¹ Besides, inscriptions Nos. 6 to 8 of Amśuvarman do not mention any superior lord; and as he himself assumed sovereign powers (for example, appointing Udayadeva as his chief executive officer) we may infer that he had become powerful and independent even during his master's lifetime. That he called himself '*Mahāsāmanta*' was probably due to habit or out of respect for his old lord alive in Saṁvat 39. We may recall in this connection the case of Pusyamitra, who calls himself '*Senāpati*' even after becoming king² or of Rudradāman mentioned as a mere '*Mahākshatrapa*' after the assumption of sovereign status.³ The subordinate titles are dropped in Amśuvarman's inscription of the year 45,⁴ and in that of Jishnugupta of Saṁvat 48, in which he is referred to as

¹ Ind. Ant., IX, p. 169.

² Malavikāgnimitra, Act V, p. 131 (S. P. Pandit's Edition, 1889).

³ Junagaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman, Ep. Ind., VIII, pp. 40, 44, 45. An analogy to the retention of the feudatory title may also be found in the use of the epithet 'Peshwa' by the Mahratta rulers of the Deccan; who instead of being the Peshwas or Ministers of the descendants of Śivaji were in reality their masters.

⁴ No. 8, Ind. Ant., IX, p. 171.

'Bhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Sri Amśuvarmapādaḥ'.¹ There is thus nothing to militate against the view propounded above, that the inscriptions are dated in an independent era.

Secondly, argument (b) loses its entire force if it be granted that the reckoning of Amśuvarman's inscriptions began some time in 590 A.D. Adding 153 to 590 A.D., we get 743 A.D. as the date of Jayadeva's inscription No. 15. If the date 66 of the Shahpur inscription is to be referred to the Harṣa era—as has been done by Fleet—the difference between Ādityasena and his great-grandson Jayadeva would be only 743—672 A.D.=71 years, or slightly less than the duration of three Indian generations, which as mentioned above, amounts to roughly 78 years. Thus, according to this proposition also the dates would tally remarkably well.

Thirdly, the *Vamśāvali* is worthless for purposes of history, as a few instances will show. It says that Amśuvarman came to the throne in Kali 3000=101 B.C.,² which is in violent conflict with the testimonies of both Yuan Chwang and the inscriptions. Again, Amśuvarman's seventh successor, Viradeva, is said to have ruled in Kaliyuga 3623 or 522 A.D.,³ and thus we have the absurdity of seven generations for six hundred years.

Besides, Harṣa was never known as Vikramāditya (even Bāṇa or the inscriptions do not bestow on him this title, although it is so commonly adopted by powerful Hindu potentates); and it is stretching the point to say that he was called Vikramāditya by confusion. Probably by using the expression 'Vikramāditya came and established his era' the authors of the *Vamśāvali* simply tried to connect the current era in Nepal with the renowned name of Vikramāditya, the founder of the Vikrama era.

Fourthly, the force of argument (d) above lies in the correct identification of the *Fei-she* caste with the Bais Rajputs. It was a casual suggestion of Sir Alexander Cunningham; but we venture to say that it is far from conclusive, as the family

¹ No. 9, *ibid.*, p. 172.

² *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 418.

³ *Ibid.*

suffix Vardhana (usually used after Vaiśya names only) itself would show.

Fifthly, the passage in the *Harṣacarita* is not such as to warrant our drawing any definite conclusions. 'The inaccessible land of snowy mountains' may not refer to Nepal. Ettinghausen¹ thought that it referred to some Tukhāra country. Moreover, it is capable of bearing more than one interpretation. 'Atra paramēśvareṇa tuṣāra śailabhuvo durgāyā grihitāḥ karaḥ,' might as well mean without violence to the context: 'Here the Supreme Lord has obtained the hand of Durgā born in the snowy mountains', which in all probability alludes to Harṣa's marriage with some hill-princess belonging to a very powerful family. That he was married is evident from the following passage put by Bāṇa into the mouth of Harṣa: 'Kalatram rakshatu iti śrīste nistrimśedhivasati,' i.e. 'if you would have me watch over my wife, glory resides in your steel'.²

The upshot of this lengthy but necessary discussion is that we have no certain evidence pointing to Harṣa's interference in the affairs of the valley; or to the introduction of his era there. It will, therefore, be safer to exclude Nepal from the sphere of the suzerainty of Kanauj.³

We shall now describe the political conditions of some of the eastern parts of India visited by Yuan Chwang.

Magadha: The Chinese pilgrim does not mention in what relation this ancient kingdom stood to Kanauj, nor does he note

¹ 'Harshavardhana', p. 47.

² Translation by Cowell and Thomas, p. 175. Although, as we have seen above, Bāṇa is quite explicit about Harṣa's marriage. It is strange that Dr. Beni Prasad observes: 'Neither Bāṇabhaṭṭa nor Yuan Chwang nor any of the contemporary inscriptions refers to any wife of Harṣavardhana, or to the fact of his marriage' (*The State in Ancient India*, Chap. XIV, p. 385). Moreover, Yuan Chwang definitely informs us that Dhruva-bhaṭṭa, the king of Valabhi, was Harṣa's son-in-law, and this obviously he could not become without the latter's marriage.

³ We may also note here that at this time Tibet wielded supreme influence over Nepal, which gave its full support to the mission of Wang-hiuen-tse in its punitive expedition against the usurper of Harṣa's throne. Both Watters (Vol. II, p. 85) and Vincent Smith (*Early Hist. of India*, 3rd ed., pp. 353, 361) admit this, but in the description of Harṣa's kingdom the latter includes Nepal (see *ibid.*, p. 341).

the nature of its government. All the information that he gives is that 'in recent times' Śaśāṅka cut down the Bodhi Tree; and 'a few months afterwards Purnavarman, the last descendant of Asoka on the throne of Magadha brought the Tree back to life'.¹ This Pūrṇavarman² must have lived in the beginning of the 7th century A.D., since he is represented here as the contemporary of Śaśāṅka, whose last date according to the Ganjam plate was 619 A.D. After Purnavarman's death, probably Magadha passed under the jurisdiction of Harṣa, as the Chinese documents connected with his embassy to that country seem to style him 'king of Magadha'.³ Support for this view may further be found from Yuan Chwang, who, describing the establishments around the Nalanda convent, records 'a bronze temple in course of construction by King Śīlāditya',⁴ and we may be sure that this name could only have reference to the great king of Kanauj at this period.

I-lan-na-po-fa-to country: identified with the modern district of Monghyr. The pilgrim says: 'in recent times the king of a neighbouring State had deposed the ruler, and given the capital to the Buddhist brethren'.⁵ Its proximity to Magadha perhaps justifies our identifying this generous king of the 'border country' with Harṣa.

Chan-po (Champa) or modern Bhagalpur. Yuan Chwang is reticent about its political relations.

Ka-chu-wen (?) (Ki-lo or Kajangala): identified by Cunningham with the modern Rajmahal. We are told that 'the native dynasty had been extinguished some centuries before the time of the pilgrim's visit, and the country had come under a neighbouring State, so the capital was deserted and the people lived in towns and villages. Hence when King Śīlāditya in his progress to "East India" held his court, he cut grass and burned these when leaving'.⁶ The fact of Harṣa having held his court

¹ Watters, II, p. 115; Beal, II, p. 118.

² It is possible that Pūrṇavarman was a Maukhari acting as governor of Magadha on behalf of the penultimate or the last Maukhari king of Kanauj, who ruled over it since the days of Sarvavarman.

³ Watters, I, p. 351.

⁴ Watters, II, p. 171; *Life*, p. 119.

⁵ Watters, II, p. 178; Beal, II, p. 187.

⁶ Watters, II, p. 183; Beal, II, p. 193.

there proves beyond doubt that it was included within his wide dominions. That the king's temporary residence was burnt after his departure should not lead us to the belief that Harṣa merely 'carried on a military raid in this direction,' as supposed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar,¹ for Yuan Chwang himself informs us that the sovereign 'made visits of inspection throughout his dominions . . . having temporary buildings erected for his residence at each place of sojourn'.

Pun-na-fa-tan-na (or Pundravardhana): identified with modern Pabna. *Samatata*, regarded as lying in the district of modern Faridpur, south of Dacca.² *Tan-mo-lip-ti* (Tamralipti), corresponding to the modern Tamluk. *Karnasuvarṇa*, equivalent to the modern districts of Burdwan and Murshidabad.³ The king of these regions shortly before the visit of Yuan Chwang was She-shang-kia or Śaśāṅka, the oppressor of Buddhists, who had treacherously murdered Rājyavardhana.⁴ A king with the same name is known to have been in power about the year 619 A.D., for the Ganjam copperplate of the Gupta year 300 refers to him in pompous expressions: 'While the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Śaśāṅkarāja, was ruling over the earth, surrounded by the girdle of the waves of the water of the four oceans, together with islands, mountains and cities'.⁵ If the Śaśāṅkas of the *Si-yu-ki* and the Ganjam inscription are identical as has been accepted on all hands, it is certain that Harṣa was unable to make any headway against his adversary for at least thirteen years after the murder of Rājya. Yuan Chwang, however, does not mention any reigning king during his visit to these parts; and the manner in which

¹ *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1923, p. 314.

² Watters, II, p. 88.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁴ Yuan Chwang calls Śaśāṅka king of Karnasuvarṇa; and Bāṇa refers to him as the king of Gauḍa, which designated Bengal in a loose way. Putting these two testimonies together with the Ganjam plate, we know that Śaśāṅka was ruler of a pretty extensive territory, comprising Bengal proper and portions of the eastern coast-line.

⁵ Śaśāṅka's sovereign status about 619 A.D. is known not only by the title Mahārājādhirāja, but also by the fact that the Mahārāja Mādhavarāja, who issued the grant, calls himself a Mahāsāmanta, and was evidently a feudatory of Śaśāṅka.

he speaks about Śaśāṅka shows that he had lived not very long before his itinerary. This agrees admirably with the testimony of the Ganjam inscription. We must, therefore, explain what happened to Śaśāṅka's kingdom after his death, which may be tentatively fixed in the year 620 A.D. with a slight margin for error.

It has been conjectured that the Nidhanpur inscription celebrates the triumphant entry of Bhāskaravarman of Assam into the capital of Kārnasuvārṇa after his victory, for it describes him as a vanquisher of 'hundreds of kings' and records a grant made from his camp there.¹ This must have happened after the tumult following Aruṇa's usurpation and Bhāskara's siding with Wang-hiuen-tse, as in spite of the 'unending alliance' there seems little likelihood that Harṣa would allow him to appropriate those fertile provinces to himself, and thus gain an immense accession of strength. Politics is a game that hardly knows any magnanimity; and especially in ancient India, dominated by the theories of the Arthaśāstra and the Mahābhārata, which advocate that a king, although apparently showing friendly feelings, should always entertain a deep suspicion of an allied power, such growth in the power of a contemporary kingdom would never have been tolerated. Hence, from the silence of Yuan Chwang we may conclude that Harṣa, who was waiting for a favourable opportunity to fulfil the vow taken at the start of his career, gratified his ancient grudge against Gauḍa when the backbone of strength and resistance was broken by the death of Śaśāṅka.

Ka-mo-lu-po or Kāmarūpa, i.e. modern Assam. Yuan Chwang informs us that 'the reigning king, who was a Brahmin by caste, and a descendant of Nārāyaṇa Deva was named Bhāskaravarman, his other name being Kumāra. The sovereignty had been transmitted in the family for one thousand generations'.² He was in great fear of his powerful neighbour,

¹ Ep. Ind., XII, p. 66.

² Watters, II, p. 186; Beal, II, p. 196. Strange to say, in some of the family names Yuan Chwang is remarkably confirmed by Bāṇa and the inscriptions. See the *Harṣacarita* (Translation), p. 217; *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1919, p. 302; also 1920, p. 151.

Śaśāṅka, and this was probably the reason why he so readily extended the hand of friendship to Harṣa at the initial stage of his campaigns. Dr. R. K. Mookerji, on the other hand, affirms that 'the king of distant Kāmarūpa (Assam) offered him allegiance of his own accord, and was anointed king by his liege lord'.¹ But I find no authority whatsoever for this assertion. Can the conclusion of a treaty by any stretch of imagination be interpreted as 'offering allegiance of his own accord'? The learned Professor finds support for the second part of his statement in a dubious passage occurring in the *Harṣacarita*, viz. 'Atra devena abhiṣiktaḥ Kumāraḥ'.² To my mind, however, it seems to have no bearing upon Bhāskara-varman, for Bāṇa calls him 'Prāgjyotiṣeśvara' or king of Assam,³ at the time when negotiations were opened by his messenger Haṁsa-vega. I venture to suggest that the passage most probably refers to Mādhavagupta,⁴ the youthful friend of Harṣa, to whom he delegated his authority over Magadha. This is evident if the testimonies of the *Harṣacarita* and the Aḥṣad inscription⁵ are considered in conjunction. The former mentions Mādhavagupta as youthful companion of Harṣa at the Thaneshvar Court; whereas from the latter it is evident that he was ruling over the Magadha region, and is further credited 'with the desire to associate himself with the glorious Harṣadeva'. This political arrangement was perhaps made by Harṣa either to reward his services rendered during the initial crisis, or to make him a bulwark against the aggressions of Śaśāṅka, who was in power at least till 619 A.D. Or, it may be that by the appointment of a strong lieutenant in Magadha, Harṣa was only manœuvring to further his designs against Śaśāṅka's territories in Bengal and the coastal regions. Mādhavagupta's family,

¹ *Harṣa*, p. 44. See also p. 48, where the author calls Bhāskara 'a vassal chief'.

² *Harṣacarita* (Translation), p. 76; *Cal. ed.*, pp. 210-11.

³ By some slip the term has unfortunately been translated as 'Heir Apparent of Assam' by the learned translators (see *ibid.*, p. 211).

⁴ The term 'Kumāra' has probably been used by Bāṇa in its general sense of 'prince' without reference to any particular name.

⁵ C.I.I., Vol. III, No. 42, pp. 203, 207.

however, declared the independence of Magadha in the confusion following Harṣa's death, as we know his son, Ādityasena, bears the Imperial titles of Mahārājādhirāja and Paramabhaṭṭāraka in inscriptions.

The episode of the forced visit of Yuan Chwang would hardly lead us to any conclusion. It is said that when Harṣa sent for the Chinese pilgrim, who was then staying with Bhāskaravarman, he got the reply that Harṣa could have his head, but not his guest—an expression which undoubtedly stressed his reluctance to part with the illustrious visitor. Receiving an unfavourable reply Harṣa is represented to have made the bold demand to 'send the head',¹ and ultimately the threat had the desired effect. Obviously it cannot follow from this yielding to the pressure of a valued ally that the king of Assam accepted the political suzerainty of Harṣa.

The circumstance of attending both the assemblies at Kanauj and Prayāga also does not help us to determine the political relations of the two potentates. Bhāskara witnessed their proceedings as a friend on an equal footing with Harṣa,² and there is no evidence that it involved a compromise of his independence.

Wu-tu (Odra) or modern Orissa, and *Kung-yu(gu or ya)-to* or Kongodha, identical with the modern Ganjam district.³ Yuan Chwang is silent about the government of both, but he describes the latter as a great military country: 'As the towns were naturally strong, there was a gallant army, which kept the neighbouring countries in awe, and so there was no powerful enemy'.⁴ As we shall show below, Orissa was certainly within the pale of Harṣa's sovereignty, and regarding Kongodha we

¹ *Life*, p. 172.

² Compare in this connection the installation ceremony of Chakrāyudha, which was attended by nine independent powers. Some scholars think that they attended as feudatories of either Kanauj (C. V. Vaidya, *H.M.H.I.*, Vol. I, p. 341), or Dharmapāla of Bengal (R. D. Banerji, *Memoirs Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 51), but I make bold to say that there is nothing in the Khalimpur grant (Ep. Ind., IV, pp. 243-54) to justify such an assumption.

³ See also *J.B.O.R.S.*, Dec. 1926, p. 586.

⁴ Watters, II, p. 197; Beal, II, p. 207.

learn from the *Life*¹ that this country had been attacked and subjugated by the king of Kanauj. It was then 'apparently a part of that great sovereign's kingdom'. Thus it appears that Harṣa made this region a strong military outpost of his far-flung empire, probably with a view to preventing any foreign incursions on the borders, threatened as they were by the eastward advance of Pulakesi II, who is credited with the conquest of Kośāla and Kalinga in the Aihole inscription.²

Having dealt with those portions of the north and east that lay in the pilgrim's route, we now come to the kingdoms of the south-west and west.

Mo-ha-la-cha or Mahāraṣṭra. Yuan Chwang gives us a very reliable description of this kingdom. The king, we are told, was 'a Kshatriya by birth, and his name was Pulo-ki-sha (Pulakesi). The benevolent sway of this king reached far and wide, and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty. The great king Śilāditya at this time was invading east and west; and countries far and near were giving in allegiance to him, but Mo-ha-la-cha refused to become subject to him'.³ Additional information is furnished by the *Life*⁴ that Śilāditya 'boasting of his skill and invariable success of his generals himself marched at the head of his troops to contend with this prince'. But even his supreme and masterful command did not enable him to subjugate or prevail over his powerful southern rival, who had by his extensive conquests in the south justly won the proud title of 'Dakṣiṇāpatha prithivyāḥ svāmi' or 'lord of the whole region of the south'.⁵

The pilgrim's account of this clash between the two great rivals is remarkably confirmed by the testimony of the Chālukya inscriptions also. The Aihole Meguti inscription of A.D. 634, containing a description of Pulakesi's exploits, refers to the event as follows: 'Envious because his troops of mighty elephants were slain in war, Harṣa, whose lotuses, which were his feet, were covered with the rays of the jewels of the chiefs that were nourished by his immeasurable power . . . was

¹ *Life*, pp. 159, 172.

² *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, pp. 242, 245.

³ Watters, II, p. 239; Beal, II, p. 256.

⁴ *Life*, p. 147.

⁵ Yekkeri inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 8.

caused by him to have his joy melted away by fear'.¹ Further references to the same event occur in the Nirpan,² Karnul,³ and Togarchedu grants,⁴ which testify that the Chālukya monarch acquired the title of 'Paramēśvara' or 'supreme lord' by defeating Harṣavardhana 'the warlike lord of all the region of the north (Sakalottarapathanātha).⁵ This reverse, the first great military achievement of the south against a northern power, was perhaps due not only to the proud spirit and warlike character of the Mahrattas, but also to Pulakesī's superior and carefully equipped troops—cavalry and elephants.

Po-lu-ka-cha-po (Bhrigukachchhapa or Bhrigukachchha, i.e. Bharoch): identified with the kingdom founded by Dadda. It was doubtless independent of Kanauj, as its ruler gave protection to one of Harṣa's vanquished adversaries.⁶

Mo-la-po or Western Malwa, with its dependencies of *Kita*, identified with Cutch or Kheḍa; *Ānandapura* and *Su-la-cha* or Surat. Regarding Malwa, Yuan Chwang informs us that the local records told of a king, by name Śīlāditya, who had reigned over the country sixty years before the pilgrim's arrival, a monarch of great administrative ability, and of rare kindness and compassion'.⁷ This Śīlāditya has been identified with Śīlāditya Dharmāditya of the Valabhi dynasty, whose nephew Dhruvabhata was ruling over Valabhi at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit. We may, therefore, infer that Śīlāditya Dharmāditya was the original ruler of Valabhi, to which he annexed Western Malwa (or *Mo-la-po*); and that his nephew Dhruvabhata II, a contemporary of Yuan Chwang, was also in possession of Malwa with its three dependencies.

About *Falapi* or Valabhi Yuan Chwang records: 'The reigning sovereign was of Kshatriya birth, a nephew of Śīlāditya, the former king of Malava, and a son-in-law of the Śīlāditya reigning at Kānyakubja; his name was Tu-lo-po-po-ta (i.e.

¹ Ind. Ant., VIII, p. 244.

² Ind. Ant., IX, pp. 124-25.

³ *Ibid.*, XI, p. 68.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 84-87.

⁵ Also see in this connection: (a) a grant of the Yuvarāja Śīlāditya Sryāsraya (Ind. Ant., XIII, p. 74); (b) the Kaṭhem grant of Vikramāditya II (*Ibid.*, XVI, p. 22).

⁶ See below.

⁷ Watters, II, p. 242; Beal, II, p. 261; *Life*, p. 148.

Dhruvabhata); he was of a hasty temper, and of shallow views, but he was a sincere believer in Buddhism'.¹

It is usually assumed that Valabhi was a feudatory state of Harṣa. Dr. Vincent Smith discussing his campaigns remarks that after the flight Dhruvabhata 'was compelled to sue for peace, to accept the hand of the victor's daughter, and to be content with the position of a feudatory vassal'.² He further adds: 'The same campaign may be presumed to have involved the submission of the kingdoms or countries of Ānandapura, Kicha or Cutch (?), and Soratha or Southern Kathiawar, all of which in A.D. 641 were still reckoned to be dependencies of Mo-la-po, or Western Malava, formerly subject to Valabhi'.³ The latest follower of Smith is Dr. R. K. Mookerji,⁴ and as this view is rather common among scholars, we proceed to examine how far the facts at our disposal justify it.

There is an interesting passage in the Nausari copperplate grant, which contains a reference to Harṣa's fight with the king of Valabhi. We are told of 'the illustrious Dadda over whom, with the grace of a white cloud, there hung ceaselessly a canopy of glory, gained by protecting (or rescuing ?) the lord of Valabhi, who had been overpowered by the great lord, the illustrious Harṣa Deva'.⁵ The Valabhi king, contemporary with Dadda II of Broach was Dhruvasena II, but Yuan Chwang calls the then monarch of this kingdom Tu-lo-po-pa-ta, or Dhruvabhata, so that we may suppose both the names to refer to one and the same person. Putting together the evidence of the Nausari inscription and of Yuan Chwang, we may further infer that Dhruvabhata or Dhruvasena II first sought the protection of Dadda II of Broach after meeting with a reverse against Harṣa, and later on regained his power, being on the throne during the pilgrim's visit. We are, therefore, called upon to explain how a minor king—a mere Sāmanta—like that of

¹ Watters, II, p. 246; Beal, II, p. 267; *Life*, p. 149.

² Early Hist. of India, 3rd ed., p. 340.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Harṣa*, pp. 30-31.

⁵ Paramēśvara-śrī-Harṣa-devābhībhūta Valabhi-pati (ri) trānopajāta bhramad adabhra subhrābhra vibhrama yaśovitānaḥ Śrī Daddaḥ (Ind. Ant., XIII, pp. 77-79).

Broach, could afford protection to Dhruvabhata against the forces of Harṣa, and what was his status after the restoration.

The answer to this query probably lies in the Aihole inscription, which informs us that 'subdued by his (Pulakeśi's) splendour, the Lātas, Mālavas, and Gurjaras became, as it were, teachers of how feudatories subdued by force ought to behave'.¹ Commenting on this passage, Dr. Kielhorn remarked that the powers² mentioned above, being 'impressed by the majesty and power of Pulakeśi had voluntarily submitted to him, or sought his protection'.³ This must surely have been when they were threatened by the aggressions of the Kanauj king. Pulakeśi lent a willing ear to their appeal for succour, and as well pointed out by Dr. R. C. Majumdar,⁴ the confederacy thus formed was a formidable one, 'resulting in Harṣa's complete discomfiture'. The fact that the Chālukya inscriptions do not mention any such joint action would not militate against this view, for the inscriptions represent those powers as feudatories; and they would naturally give the whole credit to a ruler of the dynasty.

Harṣa gave way against these tremendous odds, and a treaty was arranged, stipulating the restoration of Dhruvabhata II, who (perhaps as a mark of the termination of hostilities) further accepted the hand of Harṣa's daughter.⁵ This matrimonial arrangement was undoubtedly a masterly stroke of diplomacy, as it procured for Harṣa the alliance of his quondam foe, who could henceforth be relied upon to restrain the northern ambitions (if any) of his great southern neighbour Pulakeśi II.

¹ Ep. Ind., VI, p. 10, verse 22.

² They are obviously to be identified with the Bharoch and Valabhi kingdoms.

³ *Ibid.*, note 5.

⁴ See *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1923, p. 319 f., which I have used with profit in preparing this paper.

⁵ Such diplomatic marriages after a trial of strength were not unknown in ancient India. For instance, we are told that Seleukos Nikator ratified the peace with Chandragupta Maurya by a 'matrimonial alliance', although the expression used does not justify the current assumption that Seleukos 'gave his daughter in marriage' to his Indian rival (see also Smith's *Aśoka*, 3rd ed., p. 15 and note).

But even supposing the suggestion, offered above, to be utterly untenable, we have no grounds for inferring the subordination of Valabhi to Kanauj. There is no trace of it in Yuan Chwang's account, and it is also certain that Dhruvabhata II was on the throne during the time of the pilgrim's visit. He must have, therefore, regained his position by the power of his sword; and his previous defeat, referred to in the Nausari inscription, was no proof of feudatory rank. It might as well be said that by his failure against Pulakesi, Harṣa was compelled to recognise the southern monarch as his suzerain and overlord.

The fact that Dhruvabhata attended the religious assembly at Prayāga does not prove anything about his status. He went there as Harṣa's son-in-law, and as an independent prince like Bhāskaravarman. There was no 'element of political obligation' in his attendance. Moreover, Dhruvabhata himself used to hold such gatherings in his realm, and this circumstance must have also prompted him to witness the proceedings of a grander assembly. The *Life* says: 'He is faithfully attached to the three treasures, and every year he assembles a great gathering and for seven days he entertains priests from all countries and bestows on them food of the best description, choice jewels, bedding and clothes, with varieties of medicaments, and other things of different kinds'.¹ Lastly, in the same connection the *Life* gives Dhruvabhata the significant title of 'King of South India',² which speaks for itself and needs no comment. Thus, the available evidence does not justify the current assumption that Valabhi was a feudatory state of Kanauj.

Ku-che-lo, or the Gurjara kingdom: 'The king, who was a Kshatriya by birth, was a young man, celebrated for his wisdom and valour, and he was a profound believer in Buddhism, and a patron of exceptional abilities'.³

Wu-she-yen-na or Ujjain: We are told that 'the king was of the Brahmin caste; he was well-learned in the heterodox lore, but he was not a Buddhist'.⁴

¹ *Life*, pp. 149-150.

² *Ibid.*, p. 185.

³ Watters, II, p. 249; Beal, II, p. 270.

⁴ Watters, II, p. 250; Beal, II, p. 271.

Chih-chi-to: identified with the kingdom of Jajhoti, the capital of which was Khajuraho, which corresponds with the modern region of Bundelkhand. As regards its government, the pilgrim informs us: 'The king, who was a Brahmin, was a firm believer in Buddhism, and encouraged men of merit, and learned scholars of other lands collected here in numbers'.¹

Mo-hi-ssu-fa-lo-pu-lo or Maheśvarapura: corresponding with the region round about Gwalior between the Chambal and the Sindhu rivers.² Yuan Chwang says: 'The king was a Brahmin, and was not a believer in Buddhism'.³

Sindh was under a vigorous government, and it had then at least three dependencies, viz. *Atien-po-chih-lo* or Atyanabakela⁴; *Pi-to-shih-lo*, identified by Cunningham with Haidarabad or Nirankot, and by General Haig with the Thar and Parker district of West India⁵; *A-fan-tu*, identical with Brahmanabad or the Khairpur territory.⁶

Bāna, on the other hand, would have us believe that Harṣa pounded a king of Sindh, and appropriated the *Rāja-lakṣmī* or fortune of that monarch.⁷ Probably what happened was that sometime during his reign Harṣa came into collision with the king of Sindh, and it resulted in the defeat of the latter. But the victory was no more than a brilliant conclusion of hostilities, as in the case of Pulakeśi II, for we know definitely on the authority of Yuan Chwang that Sindh continued to be ruled by a king of the Sūdra caste, who was a sincere believer in Buddhism.⁸

¹ Watters, II, p. 251; Beal, II, p. 271.

² See Map of India at the end of Watters, Vol. II.

³ Watters, II, p. 251; Beal, II, p. 271.

⁴ Watters, II, p. 256; Beal, II, p. 276. Watters restores the name as Kachchheśvara.

⁵ Watters, II, p. 258; Beal, II, p. 279.

⁶ *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*

⁷ Compare *Harṣacarita* 'Atra puruṣottamena Sindhurājāṃ pramathya Lakṣmīrātmiyā kritā.

⁸ Watters, II, p. 252; Beal, II, p. 272. The Buddhist king of the Sūdra caste at the time of Yuan Chwang must have been Sihas-rai, son of Divāji, who was succeeded by his son Sāhasi. This dynasty seems to have preceded the one founded by the Brahman Chach, according to the *Chach Nāmā*.

Conclusion

We have now finished our critical survey of Yuan Chwang's description of contemporary kingdoms, along with the evidence of other relevant authorities, in regard to the nature of their governments. There are indeed some very striking features in the narrative of the pilgrim. It is to be noticed that he is very careful to mention the political status of the countries he visited, and to name the dependencies of certain kingdoms, like Kapiśa, Kashmir, Mālava and Sindh. In case of certain countries he even notes the transfer of allegiance, as we learn about Taxilla that it 'had been formerly subject to Kapiśa, but now it was a dependency of Kashmir'.¹ About Lang-kie (Ka)-lo he observes: 'It had no supreme government, each valley having a separate government of its own, but it was subject to Persia'.² Again, in the case of A-tien-po-chih-lo the pilgrim notes: 'The country had latterly been without a sovereign, and was under Sindh'.³ Similarly, as regards Lampa or Lan-po he says: 'For several centuries the native dynasty had ceased to exist, great families fought for pre-eminence, and the state had recently become a dependency of Kapiśa'.⁴ but he does not, strange to say, name one kingdom or territory as being subject to Kanauj, although he generally calls its king 'lord of the Five Indias,' and one who had 'conquered all the nations from east to west, and carried his arms to the remote districts'.⁵ Thus, if we take Yuan Chwang's account too literally we shall have to say with Dr. R. C. Majumdar that 'so far at least as these accounts are concerned, Harṣavardhana was merely king of Kanauj'.⁶

But such a conclusion would indeed be entirely wide the mark as Yuan Chwang himself credits Harṣa with extensive conquests and protracted military campaigns. The *Life* also describes him as a powerful monarch, attended by numerous feudatories during the assemblies at Kanauj and Prayāga.

¹ Watters, I, p. 240; Beal, I, p. 136.

² Watters, II, p. 257; Beal, II, p. 277.

³ Watters, II, p. 256; Beal, II, p. 276.

⁴ Watters, I, p. 181; Beal, I, p. 90.

⁵ Beal, II, pp. 256-7; *Life*, p. 83.

⁶ *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1923, p. 318.

Hence, however difficult it might be to determine the exact limits of the kingdom during his time, it is clear that by 'his military genius' Harṣa enlarged them, thus winning for himself a high 'reputation for valour, to which Yuan Chwang bears eloquent testimony'.¹

Is it then to be assumed that the territories, about the governments of which Yuan Chwang maintains silence, were included within Kanauj? Probably the pilgrim thought that Harṣa's dominions were too well-known to need any explicit mention, and relying on this assumption, we may well suppose that the following parts were under his authority:—

Ku-lu-to or Kullu; She-to-tu-lu or Śatadru country; Mo-tu-lo or Mathura; Sa-ta-ni-ssn-fa-lo or Sthanīśvara; Srughna; Po-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo or Brahmapura; Ko-pi-sang-na or Govishana; Ngo-hi-chi-ta-lo or Ahichchhatra; Pi-lo-shan-na or Atranjikhera; Kapittha or Sankissa; A-yu-t-e or Ayodhyā; Aya-mu-kha or Daundiakhera; Prayāga; Kosambi; Pi-so-ka; Shi-lo-fa-si-tu or Srāvastī; Rāma or Rāmagrāma; Kuśinagara; Po-lo-na-se or Varānasi; Fei-she-li or Vaisali; Fu-li-chih or the Vriji country; Magadha; I-lan-na-po-fa-to or Monghyr; Chan-po or Champa; Ka-chu-wen or Kajaangala; Pun-na-fa-tan-na or Pundravardhana; Samatāṭa; Tan-mo-lip-ti or Tamralipti; Karnaśuvāna; Wu-tu or Orissa; Kung-yu-to or Kongodha.

That some of these portions were actually within the empire of Harṣa can be proved by means of independent evidence. We have already discussed above that his ancestral kingdom comprised Sthanīśvara, the valley of the Saraswati river, and parts of Eastern Rajputana. The find-spots of the Banskhera² and Madhuban plates,³ recording grants of land, show that Ahichchhatra and Sravastī formed *Bhuktis* or divisions of his empire. If the Śīlāditya coins found in the Bhitaūra hoard (Fyzabad district) are to be attributed to Harṣa, as has been done by Sir Richard Burn,⁴ we have then direct

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

² *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 208 f. See line 7 of the inscription.

³ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 71-74.

⁴ *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, pp. 843-860. Dr. Hoernle, however, doubts this attribution (*J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 446-448).

proof that Ayodhya was under Harṣa. Likewise, Prayāga was certainly included, since it was the scene of Harṣa's great charitable distribution. We may also add that Harṣa's title 'King of Magadha', found in the Chinese documents connected with his embassy, unmistakably points to the same conclusion. Again, the fact that Śīlāditya held his court at Kajangala in his progress to East India is conclusive proof, as has been shown above, that his empire extended so far. We further know that Harṣa was carrying on military operations in Kongodha as late as the year 643 A.D. Lastly, regarding Orissa we have grounds to believe that Harṣa exercised his authority there. The *Life* says that Śīlāditya constructed a Vihāra covered with brass plates by the side of the Nalanda monastery, about a hundred feet in height, and after the subjugation of Kongodha he camped in Orissa for a time. It is further evident from the fact that Śīlāditya made a munificent gift of 'the revenue of eighty large towns of Orissa' to Jayasena, 'the admiration of the period', who in his characteristic otherworldliness declined the king's repeated offers.¹

Negatively, the Chinese pilgrim indicates what states lay beyond the pale of Harṣa's jurisdiction, by mentioning the ruling sovereigns of each.

These were:—

Po-li-ye-ta-lo or Bairat; Mo-ti-pu-lo (Matipura); Suvarṇa-gotra country; Kapilāvastu; Nipo-lo or Nepal; Ka-mo-lu-po or Kāmarūpa; Mo-ha-la-cha or Mahārāṣṭra; Po-lu-ka-cha-po or Bharoḥ; Falapi or Valabhi; Kuche-lo or the Gurjara kingdom; Wu-she-yen-na or Ujjain; Chih-chi-to or Jajhoti; Mo-hi-ssu-fa-lo-pu-lo or Maheśvarapura; Sindh.

We may, therefore, on the strength of Yuan Chwang's testimony and other epigraphic and literary evidences, roughly define the Kanauj kingdom of Harṣa in modern geographical terminology as consisting of portions of Eastern Panjab, almost the whole of the present United Provinces, Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa including Kongodha or the Ganjam region.

That this view is substantially correct is further evident

¹ *Life*, p. 154.

from the fact that all the places mentioned in connection with Harṣa's tours of inspection lie eastward. The *Life* tells us that when Yuan Chwang first met Harṣa, he was camping at Kie-shu-ho-ki-lo or Kajangala in Bengal.¹ The Banskhera and Madhuban plates issued from Vardhamanakoti and Kapitthika or Sankissa respectively give two more camps. Among his other places of sojourn were Rajmahal, Prayāga, Manītara (Oudh)² and Orissa.³

Additional support for the above view may also be found in Yuan Chwang's description of Harṣa as 'lord of the Five Indias', which has been explained as comprising Svarāṣṭra or the Panjab (i.e. Eastern parts of the Panjab in this case), Kānyakubja, Mithila or Bihar, Gauḍa or Bengal, and Utkala or Orissa.⁴

Thus the whole evidence harmonises remarkably well, and it is high time to give up all exaggerated notions of Harṣa's sovereignty or political jurisdiction extending up to Kashmir and Sindh, Gujarat and even the far South, Kāmarūpa (Assam) and Nepal. Such a view is flagrantly opposed to the unimpeachable contemporary testimony of Yuan Chwang. Besides, there is nothing in the inscriptions to support it. These territories themselves were of sufficiently imposing dimensions, being much larger than any other individual state in Northern India; and this was the reason why the power and majesty of Harṣa made such a deep impression upon the illustrious Master of the Law.⁵

¹ *Life*, p. 172; Watters, II, p. 183.

² *Harsacarita* (English translation), p. 46.

³ It is to be noted that to the other places in the South, Harṣa went in the capacity of an unwelcome invader, and not as a ruler anxious to relieve the distress of his subjects.

⁴ Havell's *Aryan Rule in India*, p. 191; D. C. Sen's *History of Bengali language and literature*, p. 385; Smith's *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 353.

⁵ Before concluding we must explain the phenomenon of small kingdoms like Matipura, Maheśvarapura, and Jajhoti, etc., almost adjacent to Kanauj. These States must have offered their alliance, like Kāmarūpa, at the very start of Harṣa's career in order to save themselves from being swept away by his war-frenzy. And Harṣa, who stood in

An objection

A possible objection to our view may be raised in the title 'Sakalottarāpathanātha', given to Harṣa in the southern inscriptions. This has been interpreted as implying that Harṣa 'achieved the proud position of being the paramount sovereign of the whole of Northern India'.¹ But there are grounds for supposing that the epithet does not bear any geographical significance. There is mention of another 'Sakalottarāpathanātha' in the inscriptions of Chālukya Vinayāditya,² and the suggested identification is that in all probability he was one of the successors of Mahārājadhirāja Ādityasena in the later Gupta line of Magadha. In this case, however, it is known beyond doubt that his dominions did not comprise the whole of Northern India. It is thus evident that the expression 'Sakalottarāpathanātha' was used in a vague and loose way, and did not necessarily connote the whole of the region extending from the Himalayas to the Vindhya ranges.

Harṣa and the Far South

In connection with our topic we may also take notice of the following lines in praise of Harṣa, attributed to Mayūra, who is reputed to have been the father-in-law of Bāṇa:

‘Bhūpālāḥ Śasibhāskarānvayabhuvāḥ ke nāma nāsāditaḥ,
Bhartāraṁ punar ekam eva hi bhuvas tvāṁ deva manyā-
mahe |

dire need of allies then, astutely tolerated their continued existence. Regarding those powers, which lay in the route of his southern march, it appears that they maintained their autonomy by giving a passage to the forces of Harṣa through their territories; or if they had to submit to his yoke they must have taken advantage of his discomfiture when warring against Pulakeśi II. Yuan Chwang visited these parts after this event; and it is certain from his narrative that these territories were then under their native rulers.

¹ *Harṣa*, p. 43.

² Compare for example: 'Vinayāditya Satyāśraya had acquired the insignia of supreme dominion by crushing the lord of all the region of the North' (Sakal-ottara-patha-nātha-mathan-opārjjita). *Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 129; *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 107, III.

Yenāṅgam parimṛṣya Kuntalam athākṛṣya vyudasyāyatam,
Cholam prāpyaca Madhyadeśam adhunā kāñcīyām karaḥ
pātitaḥ ¹ |

It is thought that reference is here made to the southern conquests of Harṣa as far as Kuntala, Chola, and Kañchi.

Support for this view is further found in the Gaddemane inscription, in which we come across the following passage in characters of the 7th century :

‘Svasti Śrī Śīlā-ādityan diśām-bharggan ākevaṇaṇ aggaḷa-
kantakan,
Pēraḷke vare Pettāṇi Satyāṅkan aṭṭulaḥhatam bedare
Mahendran,
Beḍara rāyara Malappara Kalegadule vividu svarggālaya
Kkeridan beḷeya maḷa kādon kalyānam akke aḷivon
pañch-ma.’

It mentions the death of one Peṭṭāṇi Satyāṅka, while engaged in a fight against some Beḍa chiefs, when Śīlāditya invaded the south, and Mahendra took to flight. It is supposed that the name Śīlāditya refers to Harṣa of Kanauj, and Mahendra to his Pallava contemporary Mahendravarman I.²

The theory of Harṣa's invasion of the south does not, however, seem to rest on solid foundations. Firstly, the identification of Śīlāditya with Harṣa is far from certain. Dr. R. C. Majumdar identifies him with Yuvarāja Sryāśraya Śīlāditya, who lived in the second half of the 7th century A.D., and Mahendra with Mahendravarman II, on the ground that there was ‘constant hostility between the Chālukyas and the Pallavas’³ about this period. Secondly, it does not seem probable that Harṣa could play the rôle of a second Samudragupta, or that his victorious arms could penetrate so far south, when at the very frontiers of the Deccan he had to bear the humiliation of an ignominious defeat at the hands of Pulakesi II,

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1926, p. 487; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Dec., 1927, p. 788.

² *Ann. Rep. Mysore Arch. Dept.*, 1923, p. 83; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Dec., 1927, pp. 788-89.

³ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, V, 1929, p. 235.

who also claims to have won a victory against the Pallava king. Thirdly, the passage of Mayūra has hardly any air of reality and appears as 'praise in the conventional exaggerated style of a poet, given to punning, and without any reference to historical accuracy'.

IV.—Mir Qāsim at Patna, 1761.

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The political situation in Bihar had been a source of perpetual anxiety to Mir Jafar owing to the repeated incursions of the Shahzadah, and the rebellion of powerful Zemindars. Mir Qāsim came to power at a time when the Shahzadah¹ was still in Bihar aided by Law and rebellious Zemindars.² The Nawab's troops were mutinous³ for want of pay, and in no mood to fight against the enemy. Many of them were even deserting to the Shahzadah.⁴ The Nawab had paid them only a part of their dues,⁵ but still they did not fully co-operate with the Company's troops. The principal officials of the Nawab in Bihar—Ramnarayan and Rajballabh—were jealous of each other, and their mutual wrangles⁶ not only caused a dislocation of the administrative affairs, but also prevented the Company's officers from inflicting a decisive defeat on the Shahzadah. The Nawab's troops whose pay was heavily in arrears were kept under control with great difficulty. Rajballabh was openly abused by them for non-payment of salary, and his life itself was in danger.⁷ This state of affairs certainly encouraged the Shahzadah and his adherents in their designs. The Nawab's presence was urgently needed at Patna to stop the continual dissensions among his officers, to assist the Company's troops in driving out the Shahzadah, to chastise the hostile Zemindars, and to regulate the affairs of the province.⁸ Mir Qāsim was, however, not

¹ Mir Qāsim had sent a petition to the Shahzadah even before his accession with a view to gain his goodwill. Bengal Sel. Com., 24th September, 1760.

² Bengal Sel. Com., 4th December, 1760, and Shah Alam Namah, p. 129.

³ *Ibid.*, 6th November, 1760, and Shah Alam Namah, p. 168.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 19th November, 1760. ⁵ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, pp. 3-4.

⁶ The Siyar, p. 700. (Lucknow Text.)

⁷ Beng. Sel. Com., 14th December, 1760.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 5th January, 1761.

in a position to go to Patna in spite of the strong representation of Ghulam Hussain who had been sent by Major Carnac to persuade him to come to Patna immediately,¹ because early in January, 1761, he was busy with the military operations against the Raja of Birbhum. He could not leave for Patna without establishing himself securely in Bengal. All that he could do was to send considerable sums for payment to the troops in Bihar.²

The Nawab, however, decided³ to leave for Bihar immediately after punishing the Birbhum Raja, because he was getting suspicious of the intentions of the Shahzadah. He apprehended⁴ that the English officers in Bihar might intrigue against him with the latter. He would never feel secure so long as the Mughal prince remained in the country.⁵

Luckily for the Nawab, the Shahzadah was decisively defeated⁶ on January 15, 1761, by Carnac who having taken command at Patna on December 31, 1760, had taken the field with the Company's troops unassisted by the Nawab's army.⁷ The Shahzadah now wanted to come to an understanding⁸ with the English and to return to Delhi, as the Abdali was reported to have recognised him as the Emperor of Delhi. He realised that the English could be his invaluable allies in the near future,⁹ so he decided to settle the terms of peace with them, and met Carnac on 6th February, who honourably escorted him to Patna.¹⁰ They reached there on the 14th of February.¹¹ This dramatic turn of events made it imperative for the Nawab to hurry to Patna immediately.¹² The news of the Shahzadah's arrival at Patna caused him great anxiety.¹³ He was extremely apprehensive of

¹ The Siyar, p. 700. (Lucknow Text.)

² Bengal Sel. Com., 6th November, 1760. Bengal Sel. Com., 19th January, 1761. Vansittart Narrative, I, pp. 178-9.

³ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

⁵ Zemindars like Pahalwan Singh intrigued with the Shahzadah. (See Shah Alam Namah, p. 169.)

⁶ Bengal Sel. Com., 22nd January, 1761.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 19th January, 1761.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 10th February, 1761.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 17th and 28th February, 1761.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 28th February, 1761.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Muzaffar-Namah, p. 310. (Alld. Univ. MS.)

¹³ Khulasat (*J.B.O.R.S.*), V, p. 355. Siyar, p. 703. (Lucknow Text.)

a close alliance between the Shahzadah and the Company, and he determined to prevent it. What alarmed him most was the Governor's communication to him that the Shahzadah intended to proceed to Delhi with the assistance of the English.¹ After the pacification of Birbhum in February, the Nawab left for Patna attended by a detachment under Major York,² and reached Baikuntpur in the beginning of March.³ There he was met by Carnac, Ramnarayan, and Rajballabh who paid their respects to him.⁴

The Nawab evinced a queer suspicion of the Shahzadah, and had recently recalled the forces of Ramnarayan and Rajballabh who had been sent by Carnac to subdue Kamgar Khan, a rebel Zemindar. This brought about an unpleasant misunderstanding with Carnac during the interview⁵ at Baikuntpur. This incident demonstrates how the Nawab lacked all military sense. Although he had been informed by Mr. Vansittart that Carnac would follow his instructions, and obey him implicitly,⁶ he ought to have realised the necessity of consulting the latter before sending for Ramnarayan and Rajballabh with their forces. Carnac was justified in feeling that the Nawab had no right to upset his plans without previously informing him⁷ about it, as the whole responsibility of the military operations rested with him. During his very first interview with the Nawab, Carnac made it perfectly clear to the latter that it was he who was ultimately responsible for the direction of the English forces, and that he must not be expected to render implicit obedience in the matter of military operations. This plain speaking on the part of Carnac offended⁸ the Nawab who thought he had every right to dictate to him in all matters. Mir Qāsim had obviously recalled the forces, as he did not

¹ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 126, pp. 22-23, and Beng. Sel. Com., 17th February, 1761.

² Vans. I, p. 179, and Beng. Sel. Com., 26th January, 1761.

³ Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 13.

⁴ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 174, pp. 53-54.

⁵ Beng. Sel. Com., 15th March, 1761.

⁶ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 197, p. 68.

⁷ Vans. I, p. 185. Carnac to Sel. Com., 6th March, 1761.

⁸ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 5, and Vans. I, p. 188.

consider himself sufficiently secure without their presence at Patna. Regardless of its undesirable consequences to the military operations against Kamgar Khan, and overwhelmed with needless fear, he provoked Carnac by throwing the whole responsibility of subduing Kamgar Khan's country on the Company's detachment under Captain Champion. Carnac, therefore, rightly recalled Captain Champion on the ground that he could not remain unassisted by the Nawab's troops in a country with which he was wholly unfamiliar.¹ The Nawab was unreasonably enraged at this, and questioned the action of Carnac. The only direct result of this misunderstanding was that the Nawab's suspicions of the English officers were deepened, and he became hyper-sensitive in all his dealings with them during his stay at Patna.

At Patna, the Nawab encamped with his men on the eastern side of the city near Jafar Khan's garden.² He did not think it prudent to go to the fort, nor did he like to dismiss Major York and his men.³ The real reason was that he did not trust either Carnac or Ramnarayan. With the latter he was displeased from the beginning for his dilatoriness in following his instructions.⁴ He exhibited a curious aversion to the Shahzadah who, he knew, had offered to grant the Company the Diwani and Subahdari of Bengal.⁵ He could not be easily persuaded to offer his respects to him. Carnac tried in vain⁶ to introduce him to the honoured guest. The Nawab positively refused to go to the Shahzadah's quarters.⁷ Suspicious by nature as he was, he may have anticipated some foul play. He did not think himself safe there, such was his strange nervousness; nor would he visit the Shahzadah except on a lucky day.⁸ After some futile negotiation, an auspicious

¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 15th March, 1761.

² Siyar, p. 703. (Lucknow Text.)

³ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 177, p. 56.

⁴ This fact is alluded to only in the Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), pp. 312-3.

⁵ Beng. Sel. Com., 11th December, 1760.

⁶ Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 313.

⁷ Khulasat (*J.B.O.R.S.*), V, p. 355.

⁸ Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 14.

day was fixed, and Carnac requested the Nawab to consent to an interview on that day.¹ It was, however, agreed that the meeting should take place in the English Factory where alone the Nawab could be persuaded to go.² He even insisted that the Shahzadah should come with a small retinue. Carnac had to induce the latter to bring a few followers only.³

The English Factory presented a gay appearance on the appointed day, and the central hall was decorated to serve the purpose of a Diwan-i-Khas. Shah Alam (as the Shahzadah had proclaimed himself) came into the hall,⁴ and cordially welcomed⁵ the Nawab who made the usual three bows, and presented a 'nazar' of one thousand and one gold coins, a quantity of jewels, and other costly articles.⁶ These Shah Alam graciously accepted,⁷ and in return honoured the Nawab with presents, invested him with a 'Sarpech', and even consented to dine at the same table with him.⁸ Thus ended the first interview after the payment of the customary 'peshkash'. The Nawab was, however, at heart extremely annoyed at the presence of Shah Alam whom he held responsible for the confusion of his affairs at Patna.⁹ He even complained to Mr. Vansittart that he could not afford to pay the allowances fixed for his guest, and grumbled at his lack of resources. He had consented to pay the daily allowance of the Shahzadah very reluctantly. He at first gave him Rs. 1,000 a day, but as this did not prove sufficient, another three hundred rupees had to be added.¹⁰ The Shahzadah still complained that this amount was too small to support his rank and file.¹¹ The Governor then

¹ 4th Shaban—*vide* Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 314, and Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 736, 12th March, *vide* Carnac's letter to the Select Committee, 20th March.

² Beng. Sel. Com., 28th March, 1761.

³ Siyar, p. 703. (Lucknow Text.)

⁴ Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S.), V, p. 356. Ghulam Hussain also gives a long description of the improvised hall of audience and the whole interview. (Siyar, p. 703.)

⁵ Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁷ Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 314.

⁸ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 182, pp. 58-9.

⁹ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 6.

¹⁰ Beng. Sel. Com., 17th March, 1761.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 31st March, 1761.

requested the Nawab to pay Rs. 500 more.¹ Mir Qāsim was, however, feeling impatient² at the prolonged stay of his guest who was being entertained at his expense. The Select Committee rightly agreed with Mr. McGuire that the allowance was an insignificant sum compared to the vast amount spent during the previous years to keep him off the province.³

All the time, the Nawab complained against Carnac. It is necessary, therefore, to suggest the reasons why he was so prejudiced against the latter:—

- (i) Carnac did not adopt a humble attitude towards the Nawab, and so the latter's vanity was hurt⁴;
- (ii) Mir Qāsim suspected that Carnac might intrigue against him, as he had not approved of his elevation to the masnad;
- (iii) The Nawab wrongly believed that Carnac wanted to belittle him in the eyes of Shah Alam⁵;
- (iv) Carnac was further known to be supporting Ramnarayan whom the Nawab wanted to punish and remove from his office of Diwan of Patna⁶;
- (v) The Nawab was highly annoyed at the suggestion of Carnac that the Council should arbitrate upon his complaints against Ramnarayan⁷;
- (vi) The Nawab also believed that Carnac was not helping him sincerely in settling the distracted province, and crushing the power of the rebellious Zemindars;
- (vii) Mir Qāsim apprehended⁸ that Carnac was intentionally detaining the Emperor to secure the subahdari for the Company;
- (viii) It was because Carnac had brought the Emperor to Patna, that the Nawab was obliged to pay the

¹ Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 15, and Beng. Sel. Com., 17th March, 1761.

² Beng. Sel. Com., 28th March, 1761.

³ Beng. Sel. Com., 9th April, 1761.

⁴ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁷ Beng. Sel. Com., 21st April, 1761.

⁸ The Shahzadah recently offered the subahdari to the Company—and refused to grant it to Mir Qāsim. (Beng. Sel. Com., 9th April, 1761.)

‘peshkash’, and promise a yearly tribute which had been withheld by his predecessors. The Nawab deemed it an unnecessary burden on his limited resources, and blamed the English for having unduly magnified the importance of a fugitive Mughal adventurer. He vainly¹ requested Carnac to persuade the Emperor to leave immediately, and even asked the Council at Calcutta not to recognise the Shahzadah.

Once the fiction of Shah Alam’s supremacy over Bengal was acknowledged, negotiations had to be commenced on behalf of the unwilling Nawab in regard to the annual tribute payable to the Emperor. Shitab Rai was the intermediary in these negotiations,² and after a good deal of bargaining, it was settled that the Nawab was to pay 24 lakhs of rupees annually.³ While these negotiations were going on, Mir Qāsim learnt that Shuja-ud-daulah under the pretence of paying his respects to the Emperor was coming towards Bihar in order to create disturbances and help the disaffected.⁴ The Nawab grew very nervous at this, and determined to prevent a junction between the Wazir of Oudh and the Emperor. He wrote to the Governor saying that Shuja-ud-daulah should not be allowed to enter Bihar on any account. Mr. Vansittart placated the Nawab by asking the Wazir to remain on the confines of his own dominions.⁵

Matters were thus in a confused state at Patna. The Emperor was ill at ease, impatient to be escorted to Delhi. The Nawab was eager to see him leave his country. Hard pressed for money, he bitterly complained to Mr. Vansittart against Carnac, and Ramnarayan was alleged to have refused so far to submit the accounts of his administration of Bihar. It was at this juncture that Carnac was superseded⁶ by Coote who was

¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 28th March, 1761.

² The Khulasat (*J.B.O.R.S.*), V, p. 356.

³ Tarikh-i-Muzaffari. (Alld. Univ. MS.) p. 737. Khulasat (*J.B.O.R.S.*), V, p. 356; Siyar, p. 703. (Lucknow Text.)

⁴ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 8 and Beng. Sel. Com., 28th March, 1761.

⁵ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 286 A., p. 135.

⁶ Vans. I, p. 191.

sent to Patna with civil powers also.¹ Mr. Vansittart again committed the mistake of acquainting the Nawab that Coote was to obey all his injunctions,² and thus prepared the way for a repetition of the misunderstanding that had already taken place between the Nawab and Carnac. Mir Qāsim should have been plainly told that Coote was not to be treated as his paid servant, but was to be regarded as a trusted friend. However, the Nawab fondly hoped³ that Coote would be more obedient to him than Carnac had been. Mr. Vansittart repeatedly assured him that Coote would act according to his orders, and would help him in all matters.⁴

The Nawab, shrewd and selfish as he was, wanted to win over Coote, and regulate the affairs of Bihar according to his own fancy through the latter's help and active co-operation. He spared no pains to secure the alliance of the Colonel, but his disappointment was acute when he realised that the latter was not going to be a puppet in his hands! The Nawab wrote to Mr. Vansittart, 'I have observed all the customs and forms in entertainments of eating and reciprocal visits more attentively and more heartily with him than I ever did with any other person'.⁵ The Nawab's words are too significant to be lost sight of. There is no doubt about the fact that he aimed at cultivating the friendship of Coote with the ulterior object of using him as a tool in his designs specially against Ramnarayan. He was, however, tactless from the very beginning, and alienated the sympathy of Coote. Firstly, he showed an exaggerated aversion to Nand Kumar whom Coote had appointed as his Diwan.⁶ Secondly, he unreasonably insisted that Coote should visit him before meeting Shah Alam,⁷ which the Colonel rightly refused to do.⁸ Thirdly, he did not conceal his repugnance to the want of sufficient

¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 20th May, 1761.

² Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 233, p. 95. ³ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 6.

⁴ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, Nos. 245 and 246, pp. 102-5.

⁵ Vans. I, p. 209. ⁶ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 7.

⁷ Beng. Sel. Com., 15th June, 1761.

⁸ *Ibid.*, and Coote's Diary (Orme MSS.) quoted by Prof. Dodwell in his 'Dupleix and Clive', p. 209 (footnote).

humility in Coote's conduct during the first interview,¹ and imagined that it was due to the intrigue of the disaffected.² Lastly, he needlessly irritated Coote who was known to have disapproved of the late revolution by bluntly inquiring of him whether another Nawab would be appointed in his place.³ Such a greeting, as Professor Dodwell truly remarks, was ill-calculated to convert Coote.⁴ Besides, during the first interview⁵ the Nawab insisted that Ramnarayan, whom Coote had been instructed to protect, should be turned out immediately, and that the Emperor too should be asked to leave. Coote not only did not agree to these proposals, but criticised the Nawab's policy in spending 16 lakhs of rupees on his rabble army, and advised him to disband a large part of it. All this served to cause the Nawab's annoyance.

Mir Qāsim tried his best to humour Coote, but soon grew disgusted with him when he realised that the latter was not going to be dictated to in any way. Serious misunderstanding soon arose in connexion with the Shahzadah. The Nawab was eager to secure the 'sanad' for 'subahdari' from the latter, and complained that Coote was deliberately preventing him from getting it.⁶ He complained so bitterly of it to Mr. Vansittart that the latter really believed that Coote had intentionally opposed the Nawab's application for the sanad.⁷ The Nawab further suspected that Coote did not like that he should be confirmed in his 'subahdari' by the Emperor. As a matter of fact Coote did not maliciously oppose the Nawab's application for a 'sanad'. The Nawab himself refused to pay adequately for it to the Emperor, hence the latter did not agree to grant it. The Emperor also did not like him for his being a 'sayyid', however, he would certainly have granted the sanad, if the Nawab had been prepared to pay a handsome 'peshkash'! Mr. Vansittart himself asked him in vain to pay a decent amount.⁸ Under the circum-

¹ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 8.

² Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 8.

³ Coote's Diary, 21st May, 1761.

⁴ Prof. Dodwell's 'Dupleix and Clive', p. 209 (footnote).

⁵ Beng. Sel. Com., 5th June, 1761.

⁶ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 9.

⁷ Vans. I, p. 196.

⁸ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 209, pp. 76-7.

stances, therefore, the Nawab's complaint against Coote was a deliberate perversion of truth! The Nawab further believed without any justification that Shah Alam's departure was being forcibly delayed by Coote and Carnac.¹ He desired to get rid of his unwelcome guest by any means, fair or foul!² A part of his mutinous troops had recently attacked the Shahzadah's camp, and had been repelled by the Company's troops who reported that the Nawab himself had instigated his troops against the Emperor.³ In spite of Coote's request, he refused to proclaim the Shahzadah as Emperor.⁴

The author of the Muzaffar-Namah gives a graphic account of the Nawab's mean trick to bring about the quick departure of the Shahzadah.⁵ The Court eunuch, Bahadur Ali Khan, was induced to represent to his master that it was neither safe, nor dignified to stay at Patna any longer. The apparent loyalty and anxiety of his servant touched the heart of the prince, and he resolved to leave early in June. The author of the *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* also says.⁶ 'The officers of the Emperor marked some change in the conduct of Qasim Ali Khan.' They thus perfectly corroborate the statement of Carnac that the Nawab bribed some of the Shahzadah's officers so that they might induce their master to go.⁷

The Nawab's object was soon realised. The Emperor left Patna on the 5th of June.⁸ Before his departure, usual ceremonies and formalities had to be gone through, and the leave-taking proved a costly affair to Mir Qāsim. He had to offer the customary presents including a number of elephants and

¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 8th May, 1761.

² Mr. Holwell thus defended the attitude of the Nawab: 'That the Nawab should be anxious to get the King out of the provinces as soon as possible, we can account for, and justly vindicate, from causes very obvious.' *Vide* his 'Refutation of a Letter from Certain Gentlemen of the Council at Bengal'.

³ Beng. Sel. Com., 8th May, 1761.

⁴ Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 17, Beng. Sel. Com., 6th May, 1761.

⁵ Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), pp. 315-6.

⁶ *J.B.O.R.S.*, V, p. 386, and 'Riyazus-Salatin (A.S.B. Text), p. 381'.

⁷ Beng. Sel. Com., 21st April, 1761.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 13th June, 1761.

other valuable articles,¹ and a cash 'nazar' of a little more than two lakhs.² The Emperor in return conferred upon him a 'mansab' of 7,000 horse, and the high-sounding title³ of 'Nawab Ali Jah Nasim-ul-Mulk Imtiazu-d-daulah Qasim Ali Khan Nusrat Jang'. The Nawab, in accordance with oriental etiquette requested the Emperor to postpone his departure, regretted the small amount that he had been able to pay him, and hoped that he would be able to pay one lakh per day after the rainy season.⁴ The guest was too clever to be coaxed by the hollow formality of his host, and he left with a detachment of Company's troops under Carnac. The Nawab was unquestionably relieved!

Mir Qāsim was now free to apply himself assiduously to the task of bringing Ramnarayan under his control. For some time past, he had tried to supplant the Naib at Patna, and now he was determined not only to drive him out of his office, but also to punish him adequately for his alleged disaffection. He had, however, failed so far to take him to task owing to the support that Ramnarayan received from Carnac and Coote. It would be better to summarise the Nawab's principal grievances against the 'Naib':—

- (i) A large amount was alleged to be due from the Naib⁵;
- (ii) The latter was reported to have refused to submit the papers and accounts regarding the 'subah' of Bihar⁶;
- (iii) The Nawab also complained of the improper behaviour of the Naib,⁷ and was annoyed at the latter's delay in welcoming him.⁸

¹ Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 317.

² Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 6, and Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 229, pp. 92-93.

³ Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S.), p. 386, and 'Riyazus-Salatin (A.S.B. Text), p. 381'.

⁴ Coote's Letter, *vide* Beng. Sel. Com., 13th June, 1761.

⁵ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 7. Beng. Sel. Com., 21st April, 1761.

⁶ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 234, p. 96.

⁷ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 6.

⁸ Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 312.

- (iv) Nawab further suspected him to have been responsible for the confusion of affairs in his 'subah', and charged him with the grossest disaffection.¹
- (v) Ramnarayan was further held responsible for the difficulties in collecting the total dues from the Zemindars²;
- (vi) The Nawab even complained of numerous disturbances in the province by Ramnarayan's men³;
- (vii) Ramnarayan was supposed to have inflamed the mind of Coote against the Nawab⁴;
- (viii) The Nawab was also mistrustful of him owing to his alleged intimacy with the Shahzadah⁵;
- (ix) The Naib was reputed to be extremely rich, and the Nawab believed that the latter must have been regularly misappropriating Government revenues⁶;
- (x) Ramnarayan was alleged to have spread the report that the Nawab was preparing to attack the English force at Patna⁷; and,
- (xi) He was reported to have proclaimed the Shahzadah as Emperor without the Nawab's sanction, or knowledge.⁸

It is clear from contemporary evidence that the above complaints are either entirely groundless, or grossly exaggerated. He certainly delayed in submitting his accounts, and failed to submit the whole of it. Besides, it is certain that he did prejudice Coote against the Nawab only to escape the latter's wrath, and earn the goodwill of the former. The other charges could never be proved, and were only vague insinuations. It is an undisputed fact that the Nawab had from the very beginning of his rule showed a profound distrust⁹ of Ramnarayan on account of his known connexion with the English, and only looked for an opportunity to humiliate and punish him. The Nawab's

¹ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴ Muzaffar-Namah, p. 319. (Alld. Univ. MS.)

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

⁶ First Report, p. 164 (Carnac's evidence). Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 9.

⁷ Vans. I, p. 216.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁹ Muzaffar-Namah (MS.), p. 317; Khulasat (*J.B.O.R.S.*), V, p. 363; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (MS.), p. 774; Siyar, p. 705. (Lucknow Text.)

object was to get rid of all those people who had any connexion with the Company. He knew that Ramnarayan had been maintained by Clive as a check on his predecessor, and would remain so on him, if he was not to be immediately removed.¹ He resented² the protection that the English officers had been consistently giving to the Naib, and bitterly complained about it to Mr. Vansittart in order to prejudice him³ against the former, and even succeeded in convincing him of the disaffection and treachery of Ramnarayan.⁴ The Nawab counted upon Mr. McGuire as his friend whom he won over by bestowing upon him constant favours and presents.⁵ Mr. McGuire was induced by the shrewd Nawab to report to the Governor against Ramnarayan.⁶ It must be understood, however, that the Select Committee had successively instructed Carnac and Coote to support the cause of Ramnarayan, and protect his life and honour.⁷ To Ramnarayan himself the Governor wrote several times promising him his support.⁸ Carnac was informed by the Select Committee, 'We direct you, in case of necessity, to protect Ramnarayan against all violence and injustice that may be offered to his person, honour, or fortune'.⁹ It is because Carnac defended the Naib from any maltreatment that he incurred the wrath of the Nawab.¹⁰ The latter on his part persisted in complaining against Ramnarayan's chicanery and deceitfulness.¹¹ Coote was, therefore, specially instructed to adjust the misunder-

¹ Sraffton's 'Observations on Mr. Vansittart's Narrative, p. 32'.

² Beng. Sel. Com., 18th June, 1761. *Vide* minute of dissent by Amyatt who rightly argued that the Nawab had been fully aware of the firm friendship existing between Ramnarayan and the English, and it was for this alone that the Nawab wanted to ruin him. Mr. Amyatt further stated that the Naib had never been disloyal, nor had he misappropriated the revenues. Mr. Amyatt's minute, and that of Mr. Ellis cannot be lightly rejected on the ground of their bias against the Nawab.

³ Vans. I, pp. 217-8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

⁵ Siyar, 706.

⁶ Letter from Mr. McGuire to Mr. Vansittart, 17th June, 1761.

⁷ Vans. I, p. 180 and p. 193.

⁸ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, Nos. 155 and 257. Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 61.

⁹ Beng. Sel. Com., 9th February, 1761.

¹⁰ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 7.

¹¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 28th April, 1761.

standing amicably, and to protect the Naib from oppression, and also to support him in the government of Patna.¹

Mr. Vansittart at first wanted to be lenient to Ramnarayan, and requested the Nawab to settle his accounts amicably.² But, the Nawab went on complaining with redoubled bitterness, and scarcely a letter passed between him and the Governor, which did not contain some imputation against the Naib. Mr. Vansittart was at last convinced of the latter's guilt.³ With his characteristic generosity, he permitted the Nawab to do as he pleased with Ramnarayan⁴; and rebuked the latter for the impropriety of his conduct.⁵ This marked the Governor's tacit acquiescence in the Nawab's policy against the Naib, and the virtual withdrawal of protection so long promised to him. The Nawab, in order to be sure of the alliance of Mr. Amyatt whom he knew to be a supporter of the Naib sent Ghulam Hussain to Calcutta on a confidential mission to Mr. Amyatt. Ghulam Hussain writes⁶.... '(the Nawab).... proposed to me a voyage to Calcutta. "You are," said he "in connection with Mr. Amyatt, the great supporter of Ramnarayan. I wish, therefore, you would go to Calcutta, and manage so as that he might let go his hold of that man, and join me, as I want the Council's consent for my bringing that Governor under control".'

At Patna, however, Coote consistently supported Ramnarayan who represented to him with reason that he could not clear off the accounts unless the Zemindars paid their arrears of revenue.⁷ Mr. Vansittart strongly objected to Coote's excessive attachment to the Naib.⁸

Ramnarayan had been virtually suspended from his office in April,⁹ and was ordered in May to submit all his papers. It must be admitted that his accounts had not been properly kept,

¹ *Ibid.*, 21st April, 1761.

² Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 224, pp. 95-96.

³ Vans. I, p. 196.

⁴ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, Nos. 263 and 291.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 264, p. 118.

⁶ Siyar, p. 705 (Lucknow Text) and Translation (Calcutta Reprint). II, p. 412.

⁷ Beng. Sel. Com., 5th June, 1761.

⁸ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 309, pp. 153-4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 245, pp. 102-3.

and he was now in a great difficulty. He knew that the Nawab was bent on punishing him, so he could not expect any leniency from the Nawab. He sought to avail himself of the protection of Coote, and quickly managed to make friends with him. It is from him that Coote received innumerable reports about the hostile intentions harboured by Mir Qāsim against the English.¹ Most of these no doubt originated in 'bazaar' gossip, and were highly exaggerated stories—but the clever 'Naib' knew that it was only by thoroughly poisoning Coote's mind against the Nawab that he might escape the latter's tyranny. Coote was already annoyed with the Nawab for his reluctance² to proclaim the Shahzadah as Emperor even though the latter had left Patna. The Nawab too was indignant with Coote for his strong attitude, and suspected that the latter was negotiating to obtain the Diwani for the Company from the Emperor.³ Under the circumstances, it is quite natural that there should have arisen a serious misunderstanding between the Nawab and Coote.⁴ The latter, therefore, readily believed all that Ramnarayan, or others used to tell him about the Nawab and his designs.

Mir Qāsim was asked by Coote to enter the fort on 15th June, and cause the 'sikkahs' to be struck, and the 'khutbah' to be read in Shah Alam's name, but this the Nawab refused to do (although he had agreed⁵ previously), unless the English sepoy and guards were removed from the city gates.⁶ It was without doubt a frivolous objection, and naturally irritated Coote. He rightly pointed out to the Nawab that these sepoy had been instructed to obey his orders, were a part of his own army, and that they were absolutely necessary to protect the Nawab from his own mutinous troops who were intent on plundering the city according to his own report.⁷ Coote had also agreed to place some of the Nawab's people together with his own at the gates. It was therefore certainly strange that the Nawab wanted to drive the Company's sentries and guards from the city. Coote

¹ Siyar, p. 706. (Lucknow Text.) ² Vans. I, p. 243 (Coote's Letter).

³ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, Nos. 355 and 386.

⁴ Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 19.

⁵ Vans. I, p. 211.

⁶ Coote's Letter to Mr. Vansittart, Narrative, I, p. 239.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

cannot be blamed, if he regarded it as an indication of the Nawab's inexplicable suspicion and jealousy of the English troops. At any rate, it was clear that Mīr Qāsim wanted to postpone the function of the proclamation on some excuse. The Nawab gave no reply till the 15th, when he suddenly sent a letter to Coote at night curtly refusing to stir out of his camp, and perform the ceremony in person unless the sepoy were removed from the gates. The time, and the manner of sending the letter mystified Coote, and aroused his suspicion. He, therefore, decided to see the Nawab next morning, and settle the matter satisfactorily. It is noteworthy that the Nawab did not grant an interview. This naturally intensified the suspicions of Coote who ordered messengers to watch what passed in the Nawab's camp, and to report to him everything about it.¹

Ramnarayan heard all about it, and deemed this a fit opportunity to be exploited to his advantage. There is sufficient evidence to prove Ramnarayan's scheme to bring about an open rupture between Coote and the Nawab. He offered a bribe of Rs. 2,000 to one of Coote's messengers, and induced him to inform the Colonel that the Nawab was busy preparing a surprise attack on the city.² He also met Coote in person, and informed him that Mīr Qāsim cherished hostile intentions against the English³; and in order to further convince Coote of it, he ordered his own troops to be in readiness.⁴ Coote was informed that the Nawab had doubled his guards,⁵ and that unusual military preparations were apace.⁶ All these reports naturally made Coote anxious for his own safety, as the greater part of the forces had been taken away by Carnac. He resolved to have an interview with the Nawab next morning, and at about six started with 30 European Cavalry and a company of sepoy who were his usual attendants.⁷ He had sent Mr. Watts earlier to inform the Nawab that he was coming to wait upon him.⁸

¹ Vans. I, p. 242.

² Muzaffar-Namah (MS.), p. 318.

³ Khulasat (*J.B.O.R.S.*), V, p. 604. ⁴ Siyar, p. 706.

⁵ Coote's Letter to Mr. Vansittart, Narrative, I, p. 242.

⁶ Coote's Diary, 15-16th June, 1761. Reference in Professor Dowell's 'Dupleix and Clive', p. 209.

⁷ First Report. Coote's evidence, p. 166.

⁸ Vans. I, p. 245.

Coote reached the Nawab's tents by seven, and alighted near the Durbar tent. He did not intrude into the private tents, as alleged by the Nawab.¹ Mr. Watts told him that the Nawab was still asleep in his zenana.² As a matter of fact, the Nawab was not sleeping, he simply remained inside, and purposely refused to see Coote.³ The latter with pistols in his hands for personal security went to the Durbar tent, and waited for some time. The Nawab, however, did not come out.⁴ Coote then went away leaving an officer to inform the Nawab about his visit, and apologise on his behalf for having come at an early hour.⁵ This incident the Nawab characteristically described as a pre-meditated insult. He charged Coote with violent trespass into his private tents, and sent a highly exaggerated account of the affair to Mr. Vansittart.⁶ Coote did not go near the zenana, nor did he behave indecently. He did not carry cocked pistols, and did not leave troops at the zenana as alleged by the Nawab.⁷ The affair might have been overlooked as due to clear misunderstanding, but the Nawab used it⁸ as a convenient pretext for humiliating Coote, and securing the latter's recall. Mir Qāsim was determined that Coote must leave Patna, and he magnified the incident in such a way⁹ that Mr. Vansittart was perfectly convinced of Coote's guilt.¹⁰ He formally protested against his improper behaviour without giving any consideration to the special circumstances which had obliged Coote to visit the Nawab's camp in an unusual manner, and even wrote apologetically to the Nawab expressing his abhorrence of Coote's action.¹¹ The Nawab further complained of Coote's interference with his administrative affairs.¹²

¹ *Ibid.* ² Khulasat (*J.B.O.R.S.*), V, p. 604; Siyar, p. 706.

³ Muzaffar-Namah (MS.), p. 318.

⁴ Coote's Diary, 17th June, 1761. Reference in Professor Dodwell's 'Dupleix and Clive', p. 209.

⁵ Khulasat (*J.B.O.R.S.*), V, p. 604. Siyar, p. 706.

⁶ Siyar, p. 706.

⁷ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 9.

⁸ Siyar, p. 706. Khulasat (*J.B.O.R.S.*), V, p. 604.

⁹ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 9.

¹⁰ Vans. I, pp. 234-35.

¹¹ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 322.

¹² Vans. I, 213. Coote defends his conduct with cogent reasons. *Vide* his letter, Vans. I, pp. 246-249.

The Select Committee decided that both Coote and Carnac should leave Bihar. They were recalled accordingly.¹ Coote left Patna early in July, but meanwhile he had compelled² the unwilling Nawab to proclaim Shah Alam as Emperor. Mīr Qāsim was now free to revenge himself on Ramnarayan who was left without any supporter after the departure of Carnac and Coote. The Nawab had recently offered³ a bribe of seven lakhs and a half of rupees to Coote, if he would surrender Ramnarayan to him, but Coote had refused to betray the latter, now the Nawab was relieved that the Naib had lost all his friends and partisans.

In vain did Ramnarayan ask for permission to leave the country⁴ and he wrote to Shuja-ud-daulah also soliciting his help.⁵ There was no escape, however, from the Nawab's clutches! He had already been formally dismissed from his office in June by the Nawab with the concurrence of the Select Committee.⁶ Mr. Vansittart, however, interceded on behalf of the ex-Naib,⁷ and even requested the Nawab to re-instate him, if his accounts were found satisfactory,⁸ but he made it clear that in case Ramnarayan failed to pay the dues, he might be dealt with in any manner the Nawab should choose!⁹ This was giving a free hand to the Nawab, and marked a complete reversal of the policy pursued by Clive.

Rajballabh who had been recently deputed to audit Ramnarayan's accounts¹⁰ was appointed Naib in place of the latter with the approval of the Governor¹¹ on the 1st of August.¹² The

¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 26th June, 1761.

² *Ibid.*, 29th June, 1761.

³ First Report. Coote's evidence, p. 166.

⁴ Beng. Sel. Com., 12th July, 1761.

⁵ Beng. Pub. Cons., Vol. 1761, p. 328.

⁶ Beng. Sel. Com., 18th June, 1761.

⁷ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 309, p. 153.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 322, p. 159.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 350, p. 175.

¹⁰ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 43.

¹¹ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 350, p. 175.

¹² Third Report, 1773, p. 328 (*vide* Mr. McGuire's letter).

new 'Naib' had always been a jealous rival of Ramnarayan, and had tried to displace him. It is highly significant therefore that he was appointed by the Nawab to check the accounts of his predecessor. Not only did he satisfy the Nawab by reporting against Ramnarayan, but also requested Carnac to procure him the 'Niabat' of Patna, and even offered him a bribe of Rs. 50,000. Carnac rightly rebuked him, for this insolence.¹ Mr. Vansittart was more complaisant to him, and recommended him to the Nawab for the Naib's office.²

Ramnarayan failed to submit all his papers even by the end of August. He was then subjected to a severe cross-examination in the Central Revenue office in regard to his accounts, and those of his clerks who had been reported to have absconded at his instance were arrested by the Nawab's men with all their records and books.³ Numerous discrepancies were found in the accounts.⁴ The Nawab then immediately confiscated Ramnarayan's entire property, and seized all that he could secure even from the servants and dependents of the latter.⁵ Mr. Vansittart did not object to this, and ultimately directed Mr. Hay to deliver Ramnarayan into the Nawab's hands.⁶ After having plundered him, and all his associates, Mir Qāsim put them into prison⁷ where they remained till their subsequent massacre. The Select Committee had piously hoped that the Nawab would not go to the length of attacking the life, or honour of Ramnarayan,⁸ how little the members knew yet of the Nawab's ferocity and vengeance! The signal punishment of Ramnarayan was a significant demonstration of the successful assertion by the Nawab of his complete independence which he had so long eagerly coveted.

¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 29th June, 1761. (Carnac's letter.)

² Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 352, p. 176.

³ Siyar, p. 707. (Lucknow Text.)

⁴ Khulasat (*J.B.O.R.S.*), V, p. 805.

⁵ *Ibid.* and Siyar, p. 707. (Lucknow Text.)

⁶ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 362, pp. 182-3.

⁷ Muzaffar-Namah, p. 320 (MS.); Siyar, p. 707. *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, M.S., p. 774.

⁸ Beng. Sel. Com., 26th June, 1761.

A survey of the contemporary evidence in regard to Ramnarayan makes it quite clear that the latter could not satisfactorily account for his late administration, as he had been a lax administrator. The Nawab, however, used this as a pretext for ruining one whom he dreaded as a powerful protege of the Company's officers. Ramnarayan committed the greatest blunder in completely alienating the Nawab's sympathy by placing too much reliance on his friendship with Carnac and Coote who were really helpless against the decision of the Select Committee. The Nawab's demand of the Naib's accounts according to the latter's original agreement¹ with Mir Jafar was manifestly unjust! The devastation of the country owing to the campaigns of the Shahzadah, the open disaffection of numerous Zemindars, the maintenance of a large army to cope with the invasions, and the unrealised balance from the Zemindars were some of the factors which should have been considered while adjusting Ramnarayan's accounts. Besides, the latter agreed to pay in lieu of his arrears 50 lakhs of rupees.² The Nawab was not satisfied till he confiscated his whole property, and placed him in confinement. It is impossible to defend this vindictive punishment meted out to Ramnarayan. It may be conceded that Mr. Vansittart was not strictly bound to protect³ a subordinate of the Nawab, if he failed to discharge his duty, but it cannot be forgotten that Ramnarayan held a position which was not exactly similar to that of an ordinary functionary of the Nawab's government, and that he had been induced to offer allegiance to the late Nawab on condition that the Company would safeguard his person and honour.⁴ Besides, it is strange that in spite of his payment of the aforesaid sum, he was not restored to his office, nor was he allowed to leave the country even after the confiscation of his whole property. Mr. Vansittart committed a regrettable mistake in acquiescing in his imprisonment

¹ For details *vide* Beng. Sel. Com., 17th May, 1761.

² Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 378, pp. 192-3. Third Report. Appendix I, p. 330 (Letter from Mr. Hay, 7th September, 1761).

³ Robert Grant defends the attitude of the Governor. *Vide* his 'Sketch', pp. 203-4.

⁴ Bengal Sel. Com., 24th January, 4th February, and 18th February, 1758.

His own defence is weak, and unconvincing. He wrote, 'I supported Ramnarayan until it became a dispute whether he should be accountable to the Nawab for the revenues of the province, or not'.¹ He does not explain why he did not object to the vindictive punishment of Ramnarayan after the confiscation of his entire property. It was practically betraying him in spite of the repeated pledges that had been made in the past.

The Nawab's stay at Patna is of great importance in the history of his short rule. He got rid of the Shahzadah, prevented a close alliance between him and the Company, secured the recall of Carnac and Coote, ruined Ramnarayan and his associates, established his complete control over Patna, and finally freed himself from the control of the Company's officials. In achieving his object, he showed remarkable tact, foresight, and finesse, and his shrewd diplomacy certainly proved him more than a match for the well-meaning Governor.

¹ Vansittart's 'Letter to the Proprietors of East India Stock', p. 71.

V.—The Study of Folk-lore and Tradition in India.

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

It is a matter of gratification to find that at long last, Folk-lore and Tradition which is really a most fascinating field of study is beginning to receive in India some recognition from serious students of History. It is now included among the subjects of investigation and discussion by the Indian Science Congress and the Oriental Conference and it has been included as a subject of research and discussion by the Bombay Historical Congress which held its first annual meeting in December last.

The collection of folk-lore material, particularly folk-traditions and folk-customs and folk-rites, has not hitherto been altogether neglected in India. But the task of systematising, sifting and analysing them yet remains to be undertaken. The Purānas and the two great Epics of India, particularly the *Mahābhārata*, are undoubtedly rich store-houses of ancient Indian tradition. A few later mediæval S̃nskṛit writings also deal with folk-tales and folk-traditions. In our own days, some educated Indians in different Provinces of this continent have also turned their attention to this interesting study, and, as a result, a few collections of folk-tales and fairy-tales, dear to the heart of our children, have been published in some of our vernacular literatures. Besides collections of Indian Folk-lore by European writers like Crooke, Enthoven, Bompas, Bōdding, and Mrs. Rafy, a few Indian writers have also published in the English language short collections of Indian folk-tales and accounts of certain Indian folk-customs and folk-beliefs. Such are the book on '*Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials*' by the late Mr. Gupte, a book on '*Ancient Indian Fasts and Feasts*' by Professor Rai Bahadur A. C. Mukherji of Allahabad, '*Folk-tales of Orissa*' by Mr. Godavaris Misra and another book of the same name by Mr. Upendra Nath Dutta Gupta and the pioneer book of this class in English in India—'*The Folk-tales of Bengal*' by Revd. Lal Bihari Dey. A cultured Bengali lady Shovanā Devi, has also

brought out three small collections of *Hindu Folk-lore* in the English language, entitled respectively—'*Oriental Pearls*', '*Indian Nature Myths*', and '*Indian Fables and Folk-lore*'.

Although some amount of folk-lore material has thus been collected and published, a good deal has, through the neglect of centuries, been irretrievably lost and forgotten. Yet fortunately, a vast mass of folk-lore material,—traditional stories and ballads, sayings and superstitions, beliefs and customs,—are still preserved in folk-memory and folk-practice and are waiting to be recorded before they suffer from detritition and decay.

Folk-lore materials abound everywhere in India. In fact, like Molière's hero who was all his life talking prose without knowing it, the bulk of our people may be said to live, move and have their being in an atmosphere of folk-lore without being conscious of it. Folk-rites bulk large in the ceremonies attending a Hindu's birth and childhood, adolescence and youth, marriage, disease and death. Folk-customs, folk-beliefs and folk-observances haunt us at every step of our journey in life. They appear in every grade of society. They are found not only among the folk or masses but among the classes as well, not only among the 'lower' Hindu castes and aboriginal tribes but also among our 'higher' castes and communities—Hindu and Muhammadan, Christian and Zoroastrian.

Thus, when in the Konkan and in Bengal, people find good or bad omens in sneezing according to the time of sneezing and the position of the person who sneezes, or when a knife is placed under the bed of a parturient woman in order that the mother and child may not be attacked by a mischievous spirit,¹ or when a woman in child-bed is not allowed to see the face of her husband nor he of her,² the people are following folk-custom.

Similarly when in Bengal, Bihār and Orissā, people take care on rising in the morning to avoid seeing the face or uttering the name of a miserly person or a particularly unlucky person or a childless person, or when in the morning if they see anyone rubbing only one eye they ask him to rub both eyes, or when

¹ Crooke, *Religion and Folk-lore in Northern India*, p. 373.

² *Ibid.*, p. 293.

they avoid seeing their faces in a broken mirror or eating salt left in another's plate, or shaving on the day of the week on which they were born, or jumping over a sleeping person or attending a call of nature with their faces to the sun or with wooden shoes on, or, while starting on a journey, they avoid seeing an empty water-vessel or eating plantains or meeting a barber or washer-man or a oilman (*kalu*), or when in the evening they happen to look at the sky and see only one star there they do not take away their eyes until they see another, or, in some places, three more stars,—they are following folk-custom.

Again, when at a Pārsi wedding in Bombay, the priests throw rice on the heads of the pair, and the wedding invitations are given by sending round rice dyed with turmeric³ or when, on a lower level of culture, at a Dhodhia wedding in Bombay a man blows a horn, probably to scare evil spirits, and rubs the bodies of the marrying couple from head to foot with grains of rice,⁴ or when Māhārs in Khandesh wave a cocoa-nut or a piece of bread round the groom's head,⁴ or when in Gujarat a man takes seven cotton threads to a place where owls are hooting, and there strips himself naked and ties a knot in the threads at every hoot and fastens the threads round the right arm of a patient suffering from fever in order to cure him,⁴—we see instances of folk-customs. The Pārsi custom of wrapping a sacred sheet (*sudra*) round the body of a dead cock or parrot and winding a sacred thread round it and carefully burying it, and a Pārsi's abstinence from killing or eating a cock after it has begun to crow at day-break, the various precautions taken to ward off the influence of the evil eye from a child while dressing him and decking him with ornaments, such as making a spot on the cheeks or near the neck with a black pigment or collyrium, the attention paid by various communities in the different Provinces in India to auspicious and inauspicious omens while going on a journey or transacting business or entering upon important undertakings,—these are among the countless traditional folk-customs and folk-observances current in India. It would be superfluous to multiply instances.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

⁴ Enthoven, *Folk-lore of Bombay*, p. 229.

Instances of folk-songs, folk-sayings, folk-traditions, folk-rites and folk-beliefs abound on all sides of us,—in our homes, in the lanes and streets and in the market-place, in the gardens, the fields, and the waters.

Collections of Indian Folk-lore, so far published, do not yet appear to have attracted the attention of many serious students in India. The average educated man yet regards them with amused toleration, if not contempt, or patronises them as affording amusement to the children or at best as furnishing entertaining diversion once in a way in their own hours of relaxation from serious work.

This indifference of educated Indians to ancient tradition and folk-lore, is gradually infecting even the half-educated or uneducated masses, and much of our interesting folk-lore is disappearing altogether, or suffering from degradation, attenuation or transformation beyond recognition either through transference to new sets of objects or through amalgamation with other practices and beliefs.

For a scientific study of our folk-lore it is, in the first place, essential that before this process of degradation, decay, transformation and detrition proceeds further and plays havoc among much of our existing folk-lore, no time should be lost to secure as accurate and complete records as possible of such folk-lore material as are still extant. In the second place, it will be essential for the scientific study of Indian Folk-lore to systematize and classify such folk-lore material as may be collected from different areas in the country. The next task of the folk-lorist will be to analyse each item of a folk-story or folk-rite or folk-custom or folk-belief into its component elements,—radicals as well as accessories,—and trace the life-history of each item of folk-lore with a view to restore, so far as possible, its original form and visualize it in its original setting.

A careful analysis will reveal the important fact that different sets of the folk-lore of a people are the products of different levels of culture ; and the further fact that even the same folk-ritual or folk-tale may be made up of inconsistent elements which can only be understood as survivals from

different stages of intellectual culture. A few may have been arrested in their development while they were the customs or beliefs of the community in question in their savage past, some may have been arrested in their growth when the community had passed beyond savagery and reached what is called the barbaric level of cultural development, and some when they formed part of the national custom or belief of the people in their more civilized stage but came to be cast off as useless by the more progressive sections of the community and clung to only by the conservative women-folk and other non-progressive sections of the people or preserved in particular localities only.

By way of illustration, I may refer briefly to the folk-rites in the marriage customs of the higher castes of Bengali Hindus. The first thing that strikes the student is that side by side with the religious rites and ceremonies of an advanced type enjoined by the Hindu *Śāstras* and conducted by the family priests of the bride and bridegroom, there is another class of parallel rites enjoined by tradition and conducted by married ladies. The *Śāstric* rites include prayers, offerings and oblations to the gods and ancestor-spirits, and vows solemnly pronounced by the bridegroom himself and by the bride's father or other guardian who gives away the bride in the presence of the assembled friends, relatives and men of the community, besides certain symbolic rites such as joining the hands of the couple, their walking together seven paces and circumambulating the sacred *Hōma* fire with the ends of their upper garments knotted together, and so forth. As the *Śāstric* ceremonies are considered by the community to be essential for the future well-being of the wedded couple, so too are the folk-observances regarded by the women-folk (at least the unenlightened amongst them) as necessary to secure good luck and avoid ill-luck to the wedded couple. I shall not here attempt a full account of these female-folk-rites of a Bengal Hindu marriage as observed in different parts of Bengal, but shall content myself with merely mentioning the main features of those folk-rites as observed among some higher caste Hindus in the districts of Khulna and Twenty-four Parganas in Bengal.

These folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu marriage consist of over a dozen different ceremonies of which I shall enumerate the principal ones without describing them in detail. They are all performed by married women and are as follow :—

(1) *Gātra-haridrā* or ceremonially anointing the bride and the bridegroom with turmeric paste at their respective houses on an auspicious day shortly before the day of marriage, the process of anointing being repeated every day till the day of wedding. (This corresponds to some extent to the *Ubtān* or *āptan* ceremony of Bihāri Hindus, though the Bihāri custom of *matkor* or digging earth from *kūr-khet* or *Kumāri-kshetra* is unknown in Bengal).

(2) *Adhibās* or inauguration ceremony consisting of invocation of divine blessings, or rather the attraction of 'luck' through contact with the good '*mana*' and kindly offices of well-dressed married ladies beloved of their husbands, and through ceremonial contact with such auspicious objects as rice (both husked and unhusked), tender grass-shoot (*dūrbā*), sandal-wood, vermilion, myrobalan, curds, honey, *ghee* (clarified butter), white mustard seeds, flowers, etc.

(3) *Jal-sādhā* or *Jal-sawā*, consisting of the ceremonial drawing of water by married women who are happy in their married life, for the benedictory bathing of the marrying couple and for some other ceremonial uses at the wedding.

(4) *Dadhi-mangal*, in which, at early dawn of the wedding day, a portion of the rice, left over out of the rice used for the *ābbhodayik śrāddha* or oblations to ancestor-spirits and boiled by a woman whose husband is alive, is mixed with curds (*dakhi*), sweets, etc., and is ceremonially eaten or rather tasted by the bridegroom at his own house and by the bride at her parents' house. In some communities parched rice (*chirā*) instead of *bhāt* is used for the purpose and five married women eat it in company with the bride or bridegroom as the case may be. From the bride's house five married women go with an iron knife and a new earthen vessel to a tank and 'cut the water', as it is called, that is to say, draw a rectangle over the surface of the water with the knife and dip their earthen vessel three times, face upwards, into the rectangular area thus marked out, and fills the vessel

with water. This water is known as 'Sōhāg-jal' or 'Love-water'. In the afternoon, after the *ābbhūdayik śrāddha* or offering of oblations to the manes of deceased ancestors by the bride's father or other male relative, the bride wears a red-bordered *sāri*-cloth and sits down in a room with a grain-measure (*kūnkey*, or small cane-cup) in hand and, from the vessel of 'sōhāg'-water placed before her, goes on filling the cup with water and pouring the water back again into the vessel. She repeats the process again and again, and each time that she does so she mutters by turns a wish to be blessed with the affections of her husband and her husband's parents and brothers and sisters, respectively, thus:—

'Sōhāg! Sōhāg! Swāmīr sōhāg!' (Love! Love! May I have my husband's Love!);

'Sōhāg! Sōhāg! śāsūrīr (mother-in-law's) Sōhāg!'

'Sōhāg! Sōhāg! śwasurer (father-in-law's) Sōhāg!'

'Sōhāg! Sōhāg! nōnader (husband's sister's) Sōhāg!'

'Sōhāg! Sōhāg! devarer (husband's younger brother's) Sōhāg!', and so on by turns. With this magic *sōhāg-jal* the family-barber washes the feet of the bridegroom before the wedding ceremonies begin.

(5) *Bhār nāmāno* and *Hāi-āmlā bāṭā*.—In the forenoon of the wedding day, the bridegroom in his own house and the bride at her father's, are each seated on a painted wooden seat (*pinri*), and three married ladies sit down in front of the bride or bridegroom as the case may be, and two other married ladies cover up with a cloth the heads of the four ladies thus seated. Seated in this way and covered over with a cloth, one of the three ladies pounds some *āmlā* or myrobalan fruit, and each of the three ladies mixes a little spittle from her mouth with this pounded myrobalan. The myrobalan paste thus magnetised with the spittle of ladies beloved of their husbands is placed upon a tray or a flat bamboo-basket on which are arranged various kinds of grains and certain other auspicious or '*mana*'-possessing articles. The cloth is then taken off their heads and the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be, stands up and a raw cotton thread dyed in turmeric is placed loosely round his or her head and moved by the three ladies downward from the

head to the feet three times; each time the other two ladies ask them, 'What are you doing?' They reply, 'We are taking down the burden (*bhār*) off so-and-so' (naming the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be). This turmeric-dyed thread is then tied round the left wrist of the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be, with some tender grass-shoots (*dūrbā*) attached to it.

(6) *Jātrā* or ceremonies at starting to fetch the bride, when the bridegroom is provided with an iron (but now in some cases silver) knife or nut-cracker, and on being asked by his mother, 'Where are you going?' answers, 'I am going to fetch a hand-maid for you'. (The iron knife is evidently meant to scare away evil spirits.)

(7) *Strī-āchār* proper, of which the main feature is the *Baraṇ* or ceremonial circumambulation of the bridegroom at the bride's house by the bride's mother and a number of married women, one carrying the *baraṇ dālā* or a flat bamboo-basket containing various auspicious or 'mana'-possessing articles, one an ornamented phallic symbol called *Ākh* made of rice-flour fashioned in the shape of a cone and ornamented with red and yellow colours, another carrying a pot of benedictory water with the symbolic figure of a deity drawn upon the outer surface of the pot, a fourth carrying a pot of water charmed with love-incantations, a fifth an earthen pot with a lighted lamp inside, a sixth carrying upon a brass-plate an ornamented symbol of the goddess of Fortune (*Lakṣmī*) called *Siri* or *Srī*, a seventh carrying the tray containing a variety of grains besides the *hāi-āmlā* mentioned in (5) above, and a few other ladies carrying other auspicious ingredients, and the mother-in-law carrying a flat bamboo-basket containing twenty-one lighted wicks arranged over twenty-one shells of the *dhūtūrā* fruit.

(8) *Sāt-pāk* or ceremonially carrying or leading the bride round the bridegroom seven times.

(9) *Sindūr-dān* or ceremonial anointing of bride and bridegroom with vermilion.

(10) *Āṅghī-hārāno* or concealing the bridal rings of bride and bridegroom by turns inside the mud formed by water soaking in a hole made in the ground at the spot where the bride-

groom and bride have their ceremonial bath on the morning after the actual marriage ceremony, and each attempting to find out the other's ring.

(11) *Kanakānjali* or the ceremonial handing over of some paddy by the bride to her mother by way of leaving her parent's 'luck' behind her and going to try her own luck in her husband's house.

When we attempt to classify the female-folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu marriage, we find that some are obviously meant to symbolise and cement the marriage-tie, some appear to be intended, on the principle of sympathetic magic, to make the union happy, prosperous and fruitful; some appear to have been intended to ward off supernatural evil influences and ill-luck from the wedded couple, some are of the nature of love-charms, and some appear to be of a religious nature. We further find that not only have different groups of these folk-customs different origins but they likewise belong to different levels of culture. Thus, an undoubted instance of survival of or borrowing from 'savage' culture is the folk-custom, still found in some Bengali Hindu communities, of soaking a rag in the bride's urine and, when dried up, rolling it up into a thick wick which is saturated with mustard oil and lighted in a large earthen cup fed with mustard seeds and waved in front of the bridegroom's palanquin or car on his arrival at the gate of the bride's place for the wedding. This savage custom, now fallen into disuse in many places, would appear to have originated with a double object, namely, that of scaring away evil spirits and also that of operating as a love-charm.

On a somewhat higher level of culture stands the female folk-custom called 'sōhāg-jhārā' which, too, is still in vogue in some Bengali Hindu communities. This curious custom is as follows :—

Five well-dressed women whose husbands are living and who are particularly happy in their married life wear each at the posteriors a thick cloth below the waist over their *sārī*-cloth and each by turns sits down three times on a new basket filled to the brim with sun-dried paddy or unhusked rice and marked on its outer side with two conventional human figures painted

with vermilion diluted in *ghee* or clarified butter. Each time while sitting down on the basket of paddy, the lady says :—

‘*Sōhāg! Sōhāg! Swāmīr sōhāg jhērey dilām,*’ i.e.—
‘Love! Love! I communicate a husband’s love (through this paddy)’. The five ladies then thresh the paddy, and besmear it with turmeric; and the rice thus magnetized with the ‘good luck’ of wives well-beloved of their husbands, is the only rice used in the marriage ritual.

The religious or quasi-religious folk-rites of *strī-āchār* will be found to stand on a much higher level of culture than the rest and to have a different origin.

The original purpose of most of these folk-rites and ceremonies of a Bengali Hindu marriage is however no longer known to the ladies who practise them, and all that they can say is that they observe them because their forbears did so before them and that any omission to do so may bring ill-luck to the married couple.

Some of these folk-rites which appear to be anomalous and irrational when found in advanced communities and are no longer intelligible to their civilized performers, become intelligible only when we view them side by side with analogous rites and ceremonies of more primitive communities for whom they have sufficient meaning and purpose, as they are in perfect accord with their manners and ideas.

It is through such comparative study alone that we can see the primitive basis of such practices and their underlying beliefs. Thus, when in Chōṭā-Nāgpur, we see the relatives of a Mūṇḍā or Orāon bride, with the avowed object of scaring away evil spirits and the ‘evil eye’, flourishing swords outside the screen within which the *sindūr-dān* (vermilion-anointing) ceremony of a marriage is taking place, we come to understand the original purpose of the Bengali custom which requires a bridegroom to carry in his hands a knife or a nut-cracker which is obviously the present-day substitute for a sword. Similarly when we see two elderly Mūṇḍā women, one carrying an unsheathed sword and another a bow and arrow, accompanying four maidens who draw water in pitchers for use in the marriage

rites, and passing the weapons over their shoulders so as to touch the pitchers and thereby protect the water from the evil attentions of wicked spirits or the evil eye, we come to appreciate the original object behind the Bengali folk-custom of 'cutting with a *dā*' or vegetable-cutter the water known as '*Sōhāg-jal*' which is drawn from a tank after the '*Dadhimangal*' ceremony at dawn on the wedding day for magical purposes in a Bengali Hindu marriage. When we see the bridegroom and bride in a *Mūṇḍā* marriage touching each other's neck with a bit of rag tinged respectively with his or her own blood, and by way of symbolic repetition of the same rite of exchange of blood, smear each other on the forehead with *sindūr* or red-lead, we perhaps see the significance of the *sindūr-dān* rite which forms an essential feature of the female-folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu wedding, though it does not appear to form any part of the *Śāstric* ritual. The only application of blood to the forehead of the bridegroom in the folk-ritual of a Bengali Hindu marriage now survives in the custom which requires an elder sister of the Bengali bridegroom to prick her own little finger with a thorn of the *bael* (*Aegle marmalos*) tree and mark the forehead of the bridegroom with the blood thus drawn. The curious explanation now given for this practice is that in case the bride tells the bridegroom that she is afraid of going to his house as she apprehends that his sisters may harm her through their witch-craft, the bridegroom will point to the blood-mark on her forehead and tell her that she need have no fears as he has killed his sisters and marked his forehead with their blood. This may be either an instance of degradation or attenuation of an ancient custom or its transformation by transference to a new set of objects, or it may be an instance of borrowing in the past on the part of Bengali Hindus of a savage custom from the ruder indigenes of their country. The original primitive custom of mixing the blood still survives in the *Nāh-chhōr* ceremony of a Bihāri Hindu marriage, which consists of drawing a little blood from the fingers of bride and bridegroom and mixing them together.

The similarities noticed above between some of the folk-rites of a Bengal Hindu marriage and the analogous rites of a

Mūṇḍā marriage,⁵ do not necessarily point to their Mūṇḍā origin. True, the existence of ruder elements in the culture of a civilized people points to the existence of a ruder race or races who originated them. But these rude originators of such customs might very well have been their own forefathers at a former and ruder stage of their culture rather than some other race, whether indigenous or not, with whom they came in intimate contact in the past. In fact, with regard to these folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu marriage, it may not appear improbable that they were the older and perhaps the only marriage rites of the Bengali people (or rather their dominant racial element) before the *Śāstric* rites came to be superimposed upon them, relegating these older rites to the custody of the more conservative female-folk.

All Indian folk-customs do not, however, represent survivals of primitive custom and ritual whose natural development has been arrested. There is a quite distinct and distinctive class of folk-rites, folk-customs and folk-stories which appear to have been originally devised by higher civilization to bring higher ideals of religion and morality and social relations home to the minds of the more backward classes of the population.

Just as a certain class of folk-rites and folk-customs connected with a Hindu wedding and their underlying ideas can be explained and understood by a reference to similar customs among our aboriginal tribes and other backward communities, so too the true significance of this other group of folk-rites can only be appreciated by a reference to the highly advanced religious rites and customs enjoined by the Hindu *Shāstras*. In fact, this class of our *strī-āchār* rites, like the *Vrata* ceremonies of Hindu ladies, may be appropriately called the popular and simplified editions of corresponding *Śāstric* rites and ceremonies. These are meant to express and enhance the Hindu's belief in the spiritual function of marriage. Thus the ceremonies referred to above such as *adhibās* or ceremonial inauguration of the bridegroom and bride, *jal-sādhā* or ceremonial drawing of water for the auspicious wedding-rites, *baran* or ceremonially welcom-

⁵ For an account of the rites and ceremonies of a Mūṇḍā marriage, see *The Mūṇḍās and Their Country*, pp. 444-454.

ing the bridegroom with benedictory gestures and joyous sounds of ululation, the waving of lamps and other auspicious objects, and the *pradakṣiṇa* or ceremonial circumambulation by married ladies round the bridegroom, which form prominent features of the *strī-āchār* of a Hindu marriage, are all only simplified forms of ceremonies of the *adhibās*, *ghaṭ-ānyan*, *ārati*, and *pradakṣiṇ* ceremonies observed in the worship of the greater Hindu deities. The crowns made of coloured pith and tinsel (the *topar* of the bridegroom, and the *mōr* or *mour* of the bride) probably represent the *mūkūṭs* or crowns worn by the images of the higher Hindu gods and goddesses. The object of such folk-rites in a Hindu marriage is obviously to sacralise or sanctify the marriage tie in the eyes of the women folk, and to elevate it, in their estimation, from a mere biological and socio-economical relationship to a holy religious sacrament. The wedded couple are honoured even as deities, thus emphasizing the spiritual essence of man and the spiritual function of all human relationships. Such *strī-āchār* ceremonies would indeed appear to have been originally designed to serve as a system of object-teaching or 'kindergarten,' so to say, by which to impress the sanctity and spiritual ideal of the marriage-relationship upon the women folk and upon the backward Hindu or Hinduised communities to whom the *Śāstric* rites and *mantras* or formulæ are unintelligible jargon. In this way with the aid of these simple but impressive folk-rites the marriage ritual is charged with a new and deeper meaning for the unenlightened and unprogressive sections of the community.

This latter class of folk-rites would appear to be among the special contributions of Aryan Hindu culture to the cultural development of the Indian masses. These *strī-āchār* rites, like the *Vrata* ceremonies and *Vrata-Kathās* of Hindu females, constitute a powerful civilizing force. They are the outcome of an effective popular system of religious and moral education wisely devised by the religious teachers and social leaders of ancient Hindusthān. And one is tempted to imagine some enlightened Hindu ladies of ancient India, if not devising, at least helping in the growth of this class of *Strī-āchār* rites. It is probably with reference to these, among other, *āchāras* or customs that it is

laid down in Hindu religious books that *Āchāra* or customary rites, *Mantras* or religious formulæ and invocations, and *Prīti* or love are the three essential requisites of a complete or approved (*siddha*) Hindu marriage.

As may be expected, this class of folk-rites have their analogues in the folk-rites of the Hindus of Bihār, Orissā and some other parts of India thus indicating their common Aryan Hindu origin. Such of the *Strī-āchār* rites as are common to different parts of India may be reasonably assumed to have originated from the same common source.

True, we find that almost identical rites form the essential features of the marriage ceremony of some of our aboriginal tribes, or, in fact, constitute almost the whole of their marriage ceremony. Thus, we find the counterpart of the *gātra-haridrā* ceremony of a Bengali Hindu marriage in the *sasāng-gōsō* (lit., turmeric-anointing) ceremony of the Mūṇḍās, the counterpart of the *Adhibās* ceremony of a Bengali marriage in the *Chō* (Hindi *Chūmān*) ceremony of the Mūṇḍās, in which the couple are touched with such 'luck'-bringing objects as rice, grass-blades, bread, etc., the counterpart of the Bengali's 'bhār-nāmāno' ceremony in the '*Sutāmtōl*' ceremony of the Mūṇḍās, the counterpart of the Bengali's *Jātrā* ceremony in a part of the Mūṇḍā's *uli-sākhi* ceremony in which the Mūṇḍā bridegroom on being asked by his mother where he is going, replies, 'I am going to bring one who will take care of you and give you rice and vegetables', the counterpart of the *Baran* ceremony of a Bengali marriage in the *Dā-hirchi* and *Chūmān* ceremonies of a Mūṇḍā marriage, the counterpart of the *Sāt-pāk* ceremony of a Bengali marriage in the *Chāuli-heper* ceremony of the Mūṇḍās in which the Mūṇḍā bride is carried on a bamboo basket three times round the bridegroom, the counterpart of the *Sindūr-dān* ceremony of Bengali Hindu women in the *sindūri-rākāb* ceremony of the Mūṇḍās; the counterpart of the *Angthi-hārānō* ceremony of a Bengali Hindu marriage in the Mūṇḍā custom of *Dūl-dā* in which after the *sindūri-rākāb* and *Dā-āu* rites, while they are being ceremonially bathed, the Mūṇḍā bride and bridegroom each conceals, for the other to find out, a tiny earthen jug in

the mud formed by the water in which they have been ceremonially bathed; and the *Kanakāñjali* ceremony of handing over of paddy by the Bengali bride to her mother by way of leaving her parents' *Lakshmī* or 'luck' with them, while taking leave of them, has its counterpart in the Mūṇḍā marriage rite of *Bābā-heretukām* in which the bride while leaving her parents' house throws, without looking back, three handfuls of paddy behind her, over her own head, on to her mother's *sāri*-cloth—a portion of which she stretches out to receive the paddy.

Again, the Mūṇḍās, like Bihāri Hindus, set up a *Māṇḍōa* or mud-pulpit for the ceremony of *sasāṅg-gōsō* or anointing with vermillion; the *Chūmān* ceremony of a Mūṇḍā marriage has a closer resemblance to the Bihāri ceremony of the same name than to its Bengali counterpart known as *Strī-āchār*. The *ūli-sākhi* ceremony of a Mūṇḍā marriage which has no analogue in Bengali marriage ceremonial is evidently a copy of the *Imli-ghōṇṭāi* ceremony of a Bihāri Hindu marriage. The Mūṇḍā custom of seating the bride and bridegroom on a plough-yoke covered over with straw has its parallel not in any Bengali custom but in the Bihāri custom of burying under the *māṇḍōa* or marriage-booth a plough-yoke with some bamboo twigs. The Mūṇḍās, it may be noted, appear to have, in the course of their ancient migrations, come in contact with Hindus both of Bengal and of Bihār, and have for ages been living in close contact with Hinduised aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes and 'depressed classes' who have derived part of their present social rites and customs and religious worship from the Hindus of Bengal or Bihār or Orissā or the Central Provinces.

A consideration of the language, manners and customs of the Mūṇḍā-speaking tribes would lead to the inference that they had no distinctive marriage ritual in the past, and that their present-day marriage ceremonial has been borrowed from neighbouring peoples of a higher culture, probably the Hindus of Bengal and of Bihār, not perhaps directly but through some neighbouring Hinduised tribes or 'depressed' Hindu castes who had already adopted them from Bengali or Bihāri Hindus. The Mūṇḍā ordinarily uses the expression 'dō-kiā' or 'kept' to signify 'married'. This would seem to

indicate that 'keeping'—or, in other words, simply 'living together as man and wife'—would, among the Mūṇḍās, amount to marriage, though not at the present day, but in the not distant past. Even at the present day only the mere act of forcibly smearing vermilion on the forehead of a Mūṇḍā woman is taken to constitute marriage with her; and if the woman so dealt with refuses to live with the man who has smeared vermilion on her forehead, but desires to take another husband, she can only be married as a widow in the *Sāṅghā* or *Sāḡāi* form, appropriate for a widow.

Whereas the female-folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu marriage constitute in themselves a complete system of marriage ceremonial, the present-day marriage ceremonies of the Mūṇḍās is a hybrid system composed of certain rites which appear to have been adopted directly or indirectly from Bengali Hindus as also other rites probably borrowed directly or indirectly from either Bihāri or Chattisgarhi Hindus or from both.

In a civilized community, too, such as among Bengali Hindus, as we have seen, different customs and beliefs may survive at different stages of arrested development, some having been arrested in their development while they were pure savage customs or beliefs, some when they were at a somewhat higher level than savagery or at what is called the barbaric level, some when they formed part of the national custom or belief (whether originally evolved by the community itself at an earlier stage of their culture or borrowed from other communities) but came in time to be cast off as useless by the more advanced classes and retained only by the women-folk or other conservative and non-progressive sections of the people or preserved only in particular localities.

It is not to be supposed that every primitive or apparently primitive trait of folk-lore found in the midst of advanced culture is an instance of arrested development at an earlier stage of culture. For, it may as well have been borrowed at a later stage of culture through culture-contact, and in time 'crystallised in domestication'.

Thus the ruder elements in the culture of a civilized people may be referred either to an earlier and ruder stage of their

own culture, or to intimate cultural contact or actual racial intermixture at some stage of their past history with some other people in a lower level of culture than their own at the time.

This points to the need of comparative and regional study of the folk-lore of different races, peoples and countries. In order to trace the probable origin of an item of folk-lore, the serious student will analyse it into its component elements which he will plot out on a map and thereby determine its focal centre and trace its diffusion to marginal areas. As the folk-lorist knows, discontinuous distribution of a particular item of folk-lore or other cultural trait may lead to the inference of the independent evolution of the same cultural trait at different centres, and among different peoples, or it may be found that what began as a wave of diffusion assumed, in the course of its progress from one area to another, increasingly modified forms under local influences, and continued to develop each on its own line, until, in some instances, these parallel lines perhaps converged once more. Sometimes an item of folk-lore thus modified through varying local influences may be found to combine with other cultural elements and constitute what in anthropological literature is known as a 'culture-complex'. When several unrelated cultural traits thus combine to form a culture-complex and appear in widely separated regions and unconnected peoples it may be reasonably inferred that such a culture-complex has had a common origin and spread through diffusion.

As I have said, investigation into the causes of similarities in the folk-customs, folk-tales and folk-beliefs of different peoples will reveal that these similarities may be variously referred either to community of race or intermixture of races and cultures or to the uniformity and similar working of the human mind on the same level of intellectual development. The task of the folk-lorist becomes still more difficult when he seeks to unravel the tangled origins of the large class of incongruous and inconsistent folk-customs and folk-beliefs surviving from different stages of culture and found among one and the same people. This incongruous combination of divergent elements will be generally found, on analysis, to have arisen from either of three causes.

This combination of inconsistent elements may be due either to the interchange of cultural elements between a comparatively advanced immigrant people and the ruder indigenous population, and the consequent modification or degradation of the original elements, or to the appearance of more than one ethnic wave of immigration into a region originally inhabited by a savage people, or to the survival of the customs and beliefs of an extinct or vanished earlier race in a region subsequently peopled by other races or tribes. Close examination will further reveal that an item of folk-belief or folk-practice may fulfil more or less different functions at different stages of the cultural history of a people.

The function of folk-lore to furnish clues to racial movements in the past makes the science of folk-lore a handmaid to History. But it is what has been termed the 'Pre-history of the human mind' more than the history or pre-history of human migrations which it is the main function of the science of folk-lore to illuminate and elucidate. The chief value of folk-lore lies in the insight that it gives us into the workings of the human mind at a primitive or rather early stage of culture. In the words of the great ethnologist Sir James Frazer, the study of Folk-lore yields "fossils of the human mind" which "illustrate an early stage in the progress of thought from its low beginnings to heights yet unknown".

Although for purposes of analysis and comparative study, different items of a folk-lore will have to be studied separately, our study cannot be complete without viewing them as a whole in their social and economic and psychological setting.

An intensive and comprehensive study of folk-lore will enable us not only to construct a living picture of the folk-life and folk-mind of the past, but will also reveal to us the present folk-life and folk-ways of thinking of the people concerned.

As the influence of popular mind around him—of folk-thought and folk-ideas as expressed in the lore of the folk,—works on the mind of the literary man as well, folk-lore cannot fail to have its influence here and there on his literary productions. And so a study of folk-lore will further prove service-

able in illuminating and elucidating many an obscure or difficult passage in literature.

In his Presidential Address to the Folk-lore Society of London at its annual meeting in 1929, Professor R. M. Dawkins emphasised the value of a knowledge of folk-lore and folk-mentality for a correct appreciation of literature in some cases. Said he, "Just as the literary man has an intellectual milieu formed by the books he has read, so he has a social milieu; his mind has been formed by both, and he has derived his ideas and ways of looking at things not only from the books he has read but from the people with whom he has grown up and with whom he has talked. And in this latter way most authors, especially older authors living in a less sophisticated age than our own, have come into contact with folk-lore; and just as the literary critic illustrates his author by a knowledge of his written sources, so there should be a folk-lore critic, able to illustrate him and to clear up hard passages by a knowledge of the folk-lore with which in the world in which he lived the author must have been familiar."⁶

Professor Dawkins cited instances to show how Folk-lore "elucidates many hard passages in literature and on others casts a welcome flood of light". Folk-lore does this by putting "these allusions in the full light of the popular feeling to which they originally appealed and without a knowledge of which they can never be to us more than bloodless ghosts of what they ought to be, empty like the shades of Homer with no blood in them".

In the same address Professor Dawkins also indicated how to more than one Muse,—to Literature, to Art, and Iconography,—our special studies in folk-lore can be made to render good service.

From Folk-lore I shall now pass on to Tradition which has been rightly combined with Folk-lore as a subject of study by some learned societies in India such as the Bihār and Orissā Research Society, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Bombay Historical Society and the Mythic Society of Bangalore.

⁶ *Folk-lore*, Vol. XI (1929), p. 34.

As Folk-lore is pursued primarily for the light it throws on the pre-history of the human mind, and secondarily on the illumination it sheds on Literature, Art, and History, and even Geography, so Tradition is valued for the light, however faint and dim, that it may shed on the pre-history of human events. Tradition, either oral or recorded in ancient books like the Hindu Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata, is based, more or less, on actual events of the distant past. It thus becomes a recognised source of history where contemporary authentic records or other sources are wanting. Tradition, though not always a safe guide, may also sometimes point the way to other possible sources such as forgotten archaeological remains. The study and investigation of Tradition, like the study of Folk-lore, is within the reach of every one, wherever he may be placed and whatever may be his position in life.

An attention to Folk-lore and Folk-tradition and the patient pursuit of clues afforded by them will sometimes lead to important results which will more than compensate the student for all his pains.

It may not, I hope, be considered impertinent if I refer to a concrete instance from my own personal experience. At the risk of being egoistic, I may refer to something like an archaeological discovery, on a small scale, to which I was guided by oral tradition and folk-lore.

While engaged in investigations into the history and ethnology of the Mūṇḍās of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, I came across a tradition among the Mūṇḍās of an ancient race of 'giants' named by them as *Asūrs*. They were described to me by my Mūṇḍā informants as having been a *pūṇḍi* or white people of enormous stature, strength and agility, who could in the course of one night walk a hundred miles with giant strides to attend dances at distant villages and walk back to their own homes before dawn. They are said to have lived in huge brick-palaces, to have been engaged most of their time in smelting copper and iron, and, the tradition goes that they even 'ate iron and blew fire from their mouths'. There is a legend⁷ current among the

⁷ See S. C. Roy, *The Mūṇḍās and their Country*, Appendix II, pp. XIX-XXXVII.

Mūṇḍās which describes how, pestered by the nuisance of smoke constantly rising up to the skies from the furnaces of these Asūrs, *Sing-bōngā* or God came down to the earth and, assuming the shape of a boy infected with scabs, took service under an old Mūṇḍā couple from whom the present Mūṇḍā tribe is descended, and by a stratagem got all the Asūr men to burn themselves to death in their own furnaces.

With a view to discover, if possible, what the Mūṇḍā tradition regarding the Asūrs really signified, I excavated and explored some of the reputed Asūr sites. Accounts of my modest explorations and finds were published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* in 1916 and 1917. These sites are marked by building-foundations of very large bricks, profusion of iron slag, and grave-yards with memorial stones and sepulchral stone-slabs of huge dimensions each covering a number of cinerary urns. These urns contained mostly copper and bronze ornaments, copper and bronze beads and stone-beads and tiny pottery of various shapes and sizes, some hand-made and some wheel-made, besides a few other interesting artifacts.

The finds of neoliths, copper-implements, copper-ornaments and copper and bronze-vessels, (but very few iron arrow-heads and knives) and cinerary urns containing copper and bronze and neolithic artifacts in these sites pointed to the occurrence in pre-historic Chōṭā-Nāgpur of three stages of material culture succeeding or perhaps over-lapping one another—a neolithic culture, a copper culture or rather a chalco-lithic culture and the beginnings of an early iron culture. And tradition supported by other facts suggests the probability of the scattered remnants of these ancient Asūrs having been either routed or absorbed by the ruder hordes of Mūṇḍās who immigrated into the plateau a few centuries before the Christian era.

This is an instance of popular tradition serving, in a humble way, as a clue to guide our steps to archæological finds which, in their turn, may serve to throw some light on the pre-history of the country.

Besides its value as a guide to ancient History and Archæology, Folk-tradition may also prove serviceable as a

help to understand the unrecorded social and agrarian history of a people or country. This function of tradition is important not only to the sociologist and historian but to the legislator and the administrator as well. But, unfortunately, this aspect of tradition does not appear to have hitherto attracted the attention it deserves.

Sometime ago my professional duties as a lawyer led me to devote particular attention to the land-tenures and agrarian history of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau. And a study of that history brought home to my mind the importance of a knowledge of the traditions of a people for a proper understanding of their agrarian history and present agrarian situation and an appreciation of their feelings and view-points in the matter. I felt that such a study is essential to enable the administrator and legislator to devise practical solutions of important agrarian problems, and to enable the lawyer, the politician and social worker to afford such help as may be possible to relieve the troubles of the cultivating tenantry and ease the agrarian situation of the country.

Thus, if we turn to the traditions of the Mūṇḍā tribe, we find that some old Mūṇḍās of Chōṭā-Nāgpur still recount the tradition of the ancient migration of the tribe from the Vindhyan valleys and the Kaimur plateau to the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau. Most Mūṇḍā clans still preserve traditions of their later migrations, each clan under its own clan-chief, from the north-western and central parts of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau to their present home in the eastern and southern parts of the present Rānchi District. Numerous traces of their early settlements in the northern and western parts of the plateau, the remains of the characteristic Mūṇḍā burial-grounds, the occurrence of Mūṇḍāri place-names in what is now the Orāon country, and certain other traces unmistakably point to the former Mūṇḍā occupation of those parts of the country and corroborate the Mūṇḍā tradition.

Folk-memory still preserves the traditions of the ancient Mūṇḍā patriarchs under whose guidance and leadership their clansmen cleared the jungles, founded villages and reclaimed lands for cultivation. Tradition tells us how the different

villages founded by different groups of the same clan came to be organised for purposes of mutual support into confederacies known as *Pārḥās*, each under the leadership of a patriarch who, in the beginning, combined in himself the functions both of the secular as well as the sacerdotal headman. Mūṇḍā tradition further recounts how, in course of time, an uncommonly gifted and ambitious leader acquired influence and precedence over the other *pārḥā*-heads and got himself acknowledged as the chief of chiefs,—their 'Rājā' or King,—and how for centuries this Rājā was nothing more than a 'leader of the people' and not 'proprietor' of their villages and their lands and all that was above or below them,—all of which then and to some extent even perhaps now or at least until comparatively recent times belonged to the village-communes. Mūṇḍā tradition has it that this chosen 'king of the people' was in the beginning maintained by the village-communes, first, by presents in the shape of jungle produce such as tender bamboo-shoots, yams and tubers, and later by annual contributions of a few rupees from each village.

This state of things continued for a few centuries and the descendants of the Rājā whom the village-communes had chosen as their leader, remained content with contributions or 'supplies' for his household from the various village-communes, and military aid in time of need, until in the sixteenth century the long arm of the Moghul Emperor at Delhi reached the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau and the Rājā was compelled to pay some tribute to the Imperial coffers.

In the beginning this tribute consisted of only two or three diamonds, as that precious stone was then available in river Koel which rises in and flows through the plateau. Later, cash tribute came to be exacted by the Emperors and this necessitated an increase in the annual contributions made by the different village-communes. Presumably because these contributions were not regularly received, the Rājā's tribute to the Delhi Emperor was frequently in arrears, and detachments had to be frequently sent to the country to realise this tribute, and at length Rājā Durjan Sal, who is said to have been the forty-sixth in descent from the first king, was captured and taken to Delhi

and kept for twelve years in duress in the Gwalior Fort. There he had for his fellow-prisoners a few Hindu Rājās of Northern India. Durjan Sal obtained his release on his undertaking to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 6,000. He returned home about the middle of the seventeenth century with new ideas of a king's position, dignity and pomp. He accordingly secured architects and masons from Northern India to build palatial structures for his residence and court, remains of which may still be seen in a village of the name of Doisā or Doesānagar, about forty miles from the town of Ranchi. In time the Chōṭa-Nāgpur Rājās managed to contract marriage alliances with high-born Rājput families, and surrounded themselves with Hindu courtiers, officers and retainers of different castes—Brāhman, Kāyasth, Rājput, Rāutia, *etc.*, from Bihār and the Central Provinces. Other Hindu castes such as Āhīrs, Kūmhārs, Nowās and Ghāsis also followed in their train.

These Hindu courtiers, officers and servants had to be remunerated for their services, and the only means the Rājā then possessed was the fixed contribution or supplies which he used to receive from the different village-communes. And accordingly the Rājā made *jāgir* grants of villages to these alien adventurers. Similar *jāgir* grants also came to be made to junior members of the Rājā's own family. As an account appended to a Bengal Government Resolution of 1880, says, "It is probable that when he gave away villages in this manner, he meant no more than to relinquish his claim to the supplies in favour of the *jāgirdār*".

These supplies or contributions alone could not, however, satisfy the greed of the *jāgirdārs*. And they soon began a ruthless campaign of aggression against the ancient land-system of the country and the proprietary rights of the aboriginal village-communes. The comparatively docile Orāons submitted more readily than the proud and unyielding Mūṇḍās who fought every inch of the ground. The Mūṇḍā country became the scene of constant commotion and frequent disturbances and incessant insurrections.

The most bitter indignation was aroused at the sight of alien middlemen whom the Rājā had let loose over the country

and who spared no species of oppression, force and fraud to reduce the Mūṇḍās from the position of village-proprietors to land-serfs. And some old Mūṇḍāri folk-songs still preserve vivid memories of their sufferings and struggles at this period.

The following folk-song, among others, preserves a vivid memory of the indignation and chagrin felt by the Mūṇḍās of those days at the sight of the hated aliens usurping rights and positions which had until then belonged to the Mūṇḍās themselves. I append a free translation of the song in which the detested aliens of those days were compared to the ravenous crow, the upstart peacock and the ominous owl:—

MŪṆḌĀ SONG

*Notēm tirubāchi sirmām sāngin,
Kōkōrōḍōjānāji Mañṇākinjānā ;
Notēmtirubāchi sirmām sāngin,
Kōkōrōḍājanāji Rājānjānā !
Mārādojānāji mārāngenjānā !
Kōkōrōḍōjānāji Rājānjānā !
Nātu nātu Kāukō Diguārjānā,
Mārādojānāji mārāngenjānā !
Disūm disūm kāukō Kōḷōārjānā,
Nātū nātu kāukō Diguārjānā !
Nātu Mūṇḍākō tāiurtānā,
Nātū Mūṇḍākō nekelātānā !
Disūm Bhuiñhār tāiurtānā,
Nātu Mūṇḍākō nekelātānā.
Borōtegegākō nekelātānā,
Chirigēgākō tāiurtānā !*

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Look where thou wilt, O, wherever eye gazes,
Up to the sky or below to the earth,
[Men of mean blood wilt thou meet in high places];
Owls pose as lords^s now, the owls of low birth !

^s Literally, 'as Mānkis', that is to say, 'as heads of groups of villages'.

Struts the vain peacock in glory of plumage,
 Owls pass for lords now, the owls of low birth !
 Look how the crow rules as *Diguār*⁹ each village,
 How proud the peacock stalks o'er the earth !
 Now lords it the crow as *Koṭwār*⁹ far and near,
 Now hath each village for *Diguār* a crow !
 Mūṇḍās of villages now tremble with fear,—
 They that were lords of the land until now !
 Bhūinhārs now quake with forebodings drear,
 Mūṇḍās of villages now tremble with fear.
 Sullen resentment reigns over the land,
 The Mūṇḍās chafe and fret,—an angry band.

In many villages these Jāgirdars and their lessees or Thikā-dārs succeeded in breaking the proprietary rights of the Mūṇḍās and the communal nature of their villages. The contributions or *chāṇḍās* (literally, subscriptions) formerly paid to each village-headman by individual cultivators to make up the total tribute payable for the whole village to the Mahārājā, came in most villages to be collected direct from each cultivator separately on behalf of the Mahārājā or his grantees. And in utter disregard or forgetfulness of the tradition and history of the origin of these payments they came to be called 'rents', and the incidents of 'rents' attaching to ordinary rent-paying tenancies have since then been sought to be applied to their case. And the result has been chronic agrarian discontent among the aborigines of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau for about a century now.

This chronic discontent of the aboriginal population of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau which has vented itself now and again in bloody risings and insurrections has been due more to real than to fancied grievances. Some of these grievances have been since removed to some extent by legislation and executive action. But a few others do not appear to have been probed to the root, and the view-point of the aboriginal tenants has not been sufficiently appreciated. And this makes their minds sore and uneasy and keep them in a state of chronic discontent. One

⁹ *Diguār* and *Koṭwār* are the local names for the village messenger and village watchman.

of these sore points is the question of rent. What is called 'rent' in the case of the tenancies of most aboriginal tenants actually originated, as we have seen, in a contribution in the nature of tribute or 'aid' paid by their ancestors to the ancestor of the present superior landlord of the District (the present Mahārājā of Chōṭā-Nāgpur) who was originally their chosen leader in war and peace, and not the lord of their lands.

Tradition has kept alive the memory of the days when the Mūṇḍās were peasant-proprietors owning no landlord but only rendering to their chosen leader and king or 'war-lord' services in war and periodical contributions which crystallized in time into a fixed tribute not liable to enhancement except by consent.

The word 'rent' (from Latin '*reddere*', to give back) which literally means 'return' or 'compensation' for the use of lands and tenements belonging to another, is, strictly speaking, rather fallacious and misleading when applied to the payments made by the aboriginal tenants in Chōṭā-Nāgpur, whose ancestors founded the villages they inhabit and reclaimed the lands that formed the nucleus of their present tenancies. The use of the term 'rent' in this connection leads to the erroneous supposition that these lands always belonged to the 'land-lord' and were originally 'leased' by him to the aboriginal tenants. The history of a large proportion of these tenancies will demonstrate the error of this supposition, and the fallacy on which it is based. This misleading use of the term 'rent' in such cases, would appear to deserve Bacon's characterization of '*idola fori*' or 'idols of the market-place', that is to say, errors arising from the influence of mere words over our minds. This might also appear to come under the category of Bacon's '*Idola theatri*' or errors arising from received systems of thought,—in this case error arising from the Bengal theory of rent as 'a certain proportion of the produce' which is not really applicable to the facts of these tenancies in Chōṭā-Nāgpur. Neither history nor equity would appear to justify the application of that theory of rent to the tenancies of these descendants of the original Mūṇḍā founders of Chōṭā-Nāgpur villages, whether such tenancies have been recorded as *Khūñikatti* or as *Bhūñihāri* or merely as *Koṛkar* or even as *Rājās*.

The traditions of the people, supported by other evidence, will show that the 'rent' payable by most aboriginal tenants in the Chōtā-Nāgpur plateau is neither 'competition rent' as in England, nor 'produce-proportion rent' as in other parts of India, but stands as a class apart which may be termed 'tribute rent'. It was in origin a substitute for the voluntary payments by way of 'aids' or 'tribute' to their chosen leader or chief, subsequently stabilised into customary payments in cash. It is unfortunate that the significance and incidents of this 'rent' have been overlooked or, at any rate, not sufficiently investigated, discussed or appreciated by jurists and economists, legislators and administrators. And administrators, legislators, Revenue Officers and Judges in Chōtā-Nāgpur, who are more familiar with the other two forms of rent, have been misled in the past and are often misled to this day by the analogy of the nature of rents in other parts of India. And, as a consequence, the existing law fails in various important respects to take due account of some of the rights persistently claimed and not very long ago enjoyed by the aboriginal tenants. It is the gradual loss of their ancient rights in land, their long and painful but fruitless struggle to save those rights, their repeated risings and the sufferings thus involved that have made a deep impression and left lasting traces on the tribal mind. Their folk-traditions, folk-narratives and folk-songs have kept alive the memory of the times that were.

Indeed it is these struggles that are remembered by tradition more vividly than events of a remoter past. Popular memory of these events of the last century is embodied in folk-stories, folk-songs and folk-sayings of the Mūṇḍās, and in respect of the more recent movements in the last quarter of the last century and the first quarter of the present century tradition is replaced by the reminiscences of old Mūṇḍās still living.

Their chequered and painful history has given the Mūṇḍās much to remember, and they remember it fairly well. As Professor Myres has pointed out, folk-memory is stimulated by "the disturbance of the statical equilibrium of a people and narcotized by the establishment of a quiet *modus vivendi*". No

doubt, in these Mūṇḍā traditions many a detail may have been since added and many an embellishment made by popular imagination. But from what we know from contemporary official records of the events in question, there can be no doubt as to the substantial verity of folk-tradition and reliability of folk-memory in these matters.

If sufficient note had been taken and attention paid by administrators and legislators to these traditions and the feelings that lie behind them and are kept alive by them, much of the existing grievances of the poor aborigines might have been more or less removed and their lot might have been considerably improved.

The agrarian history of Chōṭā-Nāgpur thus furnishes a striking illustration of the administrative utility and importance of the study of the traditions and folk-lore of a people, and brings forcibly home to us one of the disastrous results of neglecting them.¹⁰

¹⁰ This paper contains and elucidates portions of the Author's Presidential addresses to the Folk-lore sections of the Indian Oriental Conference, January, 1931, and of the Bombay Historical Congress, December, 1931.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—Note on the Puri Plates of Dharmarāja.

By the late Prof. R. D. Banerji, M.A.

The Puri plates of Dharmarāja deciphered in the foregoing pages by Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru contain a good deal of interesting information regarding the Śailodbhava dynasty of Orissa. In the first place it provides us with a new date for the kings of this dynasty. Up to this time the only known dates were G.E. 300 in the Ganjam plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja and the second in a mutilated form in the Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja. The Puri plates of Dharmarāja further provide a synchronism of this king with another named Tivaradeva. In editing this inscription Mr. Satyanarayan Rajaguru has not done full justice to the printed literature on the subject of the Śailodbhavas. The text of the new Puri plates alone prove that the date 512 cannot be referred to the Śaka era, apart from considerations of palæography. The genealogy provided in the new plates show that Dharmarāja was much later than Mādhavarāja II of the Ganjam plates and therefore as Mādhavarāja II was a contemporary of Śaśāṅkarāja and was living in 619-20 A.D., Dharmarāja cannot be placed earlier than him. Therefore the date 512 in the new plates cannot be referred to the Śaka era.

The genealogy begins with a verse about Pulindasena. This verse which is the third verse in the Buguda plates of Mādhavarman and also in the Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja is the second verse in the new Puri plates. In the lineage of Pulindasena was born Raṇabhīta or Araṇabhīta as Mr. Rajaguru reads and his reading gives better meaning. This verse is the same in the Buguda, Parikud and the new Puri plates. His son was Sainyabhīta I and the verse introducing him is the same in all three plates. After Sainyabhīta I there is a break, and a verse, to be found in all three plates, states that in the family of Sainyabhīta I was born Yaśobhīta I or Ayaśobhīta I. His son

was Sainyabhita II. The Buguda plates then introduce another verse with the name of Mādhavarman (v. 12) which indicates that Sainyabhita II was a *Biruda* of Mādhavarman. The genealogy is further continued by the Parikud and Puri plates according to which Yaśobhita II or Ayaśobhita II was the son of Sainyabhita II. Both plates agree in making Madhyamarāja I as the son and successor of Yaśobhita II. According to the new Puri plates Dharmarāja was the son of Madhyamarāja I. At this point we must go back to the Ganjam plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja. These plates were issued by a subordinate chief named Mādhavarāja II who openly acknowledges the suzerainty of Śaśāṅkarāja of Bengal. This Mādhavarāja II was a scion of the Śailodbhava family and was the grandson of Mādhavarāja I and the son of Ayaśobhita. This inscription does not mention Pulindasena of the Buguda, Parikud and the new Puri plates. The similarity of the names and the definite mention of the Śailodbhava family proves that this Ayaśobhita must be one of the princes mentioned in the Khurda plates. Two distinct genealogical tables can be prepared from these five charters. The Khurda and the Ganjam plates show that after Sainyabhita I came Ayaśobhita I and his son was Mādhavarāja. These two genealogies also prove that Mādhavarāja was also a *Biruda* of Sainyabhita I, the second genealogical table can be prepared from the Buguda, Parikud and the new Puri plates. In this table there is a gap between Sainyabhita I and Yaśobhita and Yaśobhita II who was called Ayaśobhita I in my article on the Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja. Though the identification is very tempting it is impossible to place the grandson of Mādhavarāja II in the Gupta Year 512, i.e. 831-2 A.D. Sainyabhita II must therefore be known as Mādhavarāja III and Ayaśobhita II as Ayaśobhita III. There is further reason to assign the date 512 in the new Puri plates to the Gupta era. Dharmarāja has an elder brother named Mādhava or Mādhavarāja III. From him he conquered the kingdom with the help of another king named Tivaradeva in a battle at Phasika.¹ This strīvara has been rightly identified

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 266.

by Mr. Rajaguru with Mahāśivagupta-strīvara, the brother of Chandragupta and the uncle of Harṣagupta of the Somavamśi dynasty of Kosala. Most probably Chandragupta is the same king of that name who is mentioned as the contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Govinda III, in the Ganjam plates of his son Amoghavarṣa in the Sanjan plates of his son Amoghavarṣa I.¹ Therefore Dharmarāja cannot belong to the end of the 6th century A.D. and consequently the date 512 cannot be referred to the Śaka era.

At my request Mr. Satyanarayan Rajaguru has sent me a rubbing of the last plate which bears the date and I read the date in the last line as Samvat—10 Vaiśākha Śudi. There is no room in the last line, after the final *t* of Samvat and the *Vai* of Vaiśākha for a date in three letters. There is just room enough for the unit and the ten at this place.

Dharmarāja is known from another copperplate which is not the same as this one. It was noted by the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, that it is dated Samvat 800 and mentions the battle of Phasika and Tivaradeva.²

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 266.

² Annual report of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent, Southern Circle, Madras, for the year 1921, pp. 15 (No. 3) and 93.

II.—The Tekkali Plates of Śatrubhañja— V.S. 800.

By the late Professor R. D. Banerji, M.A.

I came to learn of the existence of this important inscription from Mr. Paramananda Acharya, B.Sc., Senior Archæological scholar of the Mayurbhanja State in May or June, 1929. Subsequently, at my request, Mr. Acharya supplied me with the pencil rubbings from which the inscription is edited below. I have not been able to elicit the name of the owner of these plates and their present locality from Mr. Acharya.

The plates are three in number of which the first and the third appear to be inscribed on one side only while the second is inscribed on both sides. The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it supplies a date for the first group of Bhañja kings represented by Śilabhañja, his son Śatrubhañja and his son Raṇabhañja I. Further it supplies a longer genealogy of the kings of this group than that known from any other charter.

The inscription opens with a verse about the praise of Śiva. The opening verse begins *Jayati Kusumavaṇa-prāṇa-vikṣobha-dakṣam* which is also to be found in the charters of the descendants of Raṇabhañja I.¹ The genealogy given is also fragmentary. It begins with an unknown king named Maṅgalarāja. The donor, Śatrubhañja was the son of Śilabhañja, the grandson of Pallagambhira and the great-grandson of Yathāsukha, and belonged to the spotless family of the Bhañjas. The object of the charter was the grant of the village of Kontamulla to two Brāhmanas named Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇuvāmi and Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇasvāmi. The village granted was situated in the *Viṣaya* of *Salvadda*. The most important part is the date, which is given in numerical symbols in the last line :

Samvat 8, 100 Kārttika śudī 8.

The symbol used for 8 is a combination of *tha* and *Da* and consequently there was a great temptation to read it as 20, but

¹ See *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 276.

the symbol for 100, which follows it is unmistakable. Therefore it is not possible to read the first numeral as being ancient above 9 and the same numeral has been used to denote the date of the *Pakṣa*, i.e. the *tilhi*. I propose to read this numerical symbol as 8. Another inscription bearing the same date was discovered by the late Mr. Tarini Charan Rath, but no facsimile of this inscription has been published as yet. I cannot identify any of these localities mentioned in this inscription. The *Dātaka* of this grant was the illustrious Kṛtavarman, who was the master of the five *Karaṇas* (*Pañcha-Karaṇ-ādhikṛta*) and was also a Mahāsāmanta. It was composed by the *Sāndhivigrahika* Buddhadatta and evidently incised by the same person. I edit this important record from the pencil rubbing given to me by Mr. Paramananda Acharya.

TEXT

First Plate (Second Side).

1. Jayati kusuma-vaṇa-prāṇa-vikṣobha-dakṣham sva-
kīraṇa-pari
2. veṣy-orjitya jīrnendra-lekham tṛ (tri) bhuvana-bhu-
van-āntar-dyota-bhāsva t-pra-
3. dīpam kanaka-nikāṣa-tāmvraṃ bibhur-netram Harasya
II Śeṣ-āher-iva yaḥ
4. phaṇā pravilasat-yad-bhāsurendra-tviṣaḥ praleṣy-āchala-
śrīṅga-ko
5. tyā iva tvayanti yat-pronnetā(h) nṛittatopa-vighaṭṭita
iva
6. bhuja rājanti yeṣām-havām-ste rvv-āgha vighaṭṭinaḥ
surat-svarito
7. yor-mmayāḥ ¹ pāntu vaḥ I Asti jaya-śrī-nilaya-prakāṣa-
guṇa grasta-sarvva-
8. ripu-garvva-Śrīmān-Maṅgalarājo rājā-nirvvṛta-kalikāl-
maṣaḥ Bhañj-āmala-kula-
9. tilakaḥ Śrī-Yathāsukhadevasya pranaptā Śrī-Pallagam-
bhiradevasya pauttraḥ

¹ Read *sura-sarit* to *y-orrmayāḥ*.

Second Plate (First Side).

10. Śrī Śilabhañjadevāsyā sūtaḥ Paramamāheśvaro mātā-
pitṛ-
11. pādānudhyātaḥ Śrī Śatrubhañjadevaḥ kuśali II Sal-
vadda vi
12. ṣaye rājā-rājānaka-rājaputra-viṣayapati-mahāsāman-
ta-
13. Śrī-sāmantha-maha (ā) sāmantha-yathākālādhyāsinah
vyavahāriṇaḥ sa-
14. karaṇān-anyāms-cha Brāhmaṇa-pura(ro)g-ādi janapa-
dam nivā
15. si-janapadāns-cha yath-ārham pūjayati bodhayaty-
ājñāpaya
16. ti cha viditam-astu bhavatām-etad-viṣaya-sambaddha-
Kontamullo
17. grāmo-yam chatuḥ simn-āghāṭa-paripālitenī Vāsi (sī)
ṣṭha-go
18. trābhyaṃ Bhaṭṭa-Viṣṇuśvāmi-bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇasvāmi
bhyāṃ mātā-

Second Plate (Second Side).

19. pītror-ātmanaś-cha puṇy-ābhivṛddhaye śa (sa) lila-
dhārā-puraḥsa-
20. reṇ-ākaraṭvena pratipādite-smabhiḥ yato-nayor-
āchandrā
21. rkam samupabhujaṣva na kaiś-chit paripanthinā
bhavitavyam -i
22. ti 11 Uktam-cha dharma-śāstre Bahubhir-vvasudhā
dattā rājabhiḥ Sagarādi
23. bhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmi (s) tasya tasya tadā
phalam 11
24. Mā bhūd-aphala śaṅkā vaḥ paradatt-eti pārthivāḥ
sva-dāna t -phala
25. m-ānanyam para-datt-ānupālana 11 Sva-dattam
para-dattam-vā yo
26. hareta vasundharām sa viṣṭhāyām kṛmir -bhūtvā
pitṛibhiḥ saha
27. pachyate 11 Iti kamala-dal-āmva-vindu-lolām śrīyam-
anu

Third Plate (First Side).

28. chintya manuṣya-jīvitam-cha sakalam-idam-udāhr-
tamhi budhvā na hi
29. puruṣaiḥ pari(ra)-kīrttayo vilopyā(h) 11 Ṣaṣṭim varṣa-
sahasrāṇi sva
30. rge modati bhūmidah Ākṣeptāś-ch-ānumantā cha tāny
eva narakam vra
31. jet 11 Pañcha-karaṇ-āddhi (dhi) kṛta-Mahāsāmanta-
dūtako-tra Śrī-Kṛitavarmm-a (ā)
32. deśā-(ṭ)-likhi ta ñ-cha Sāndhivigrahika-Vuddha-
dattena Utkirṇam
- ¹33. Śrī-Sāmanta-Dhavalākena anuṣṭhitam Śeṣādityanate
34. Samvat 8,100, Kārttika Śudi 8.

¹ Left out in Mr. Banerji's MS.



The Tekkali Plates of Sarrubhañja.
I Plate II side.

J. B. O. R. S. 1932.



The Takkali Plates of Śatrubhaṅga.
II Plate I side.

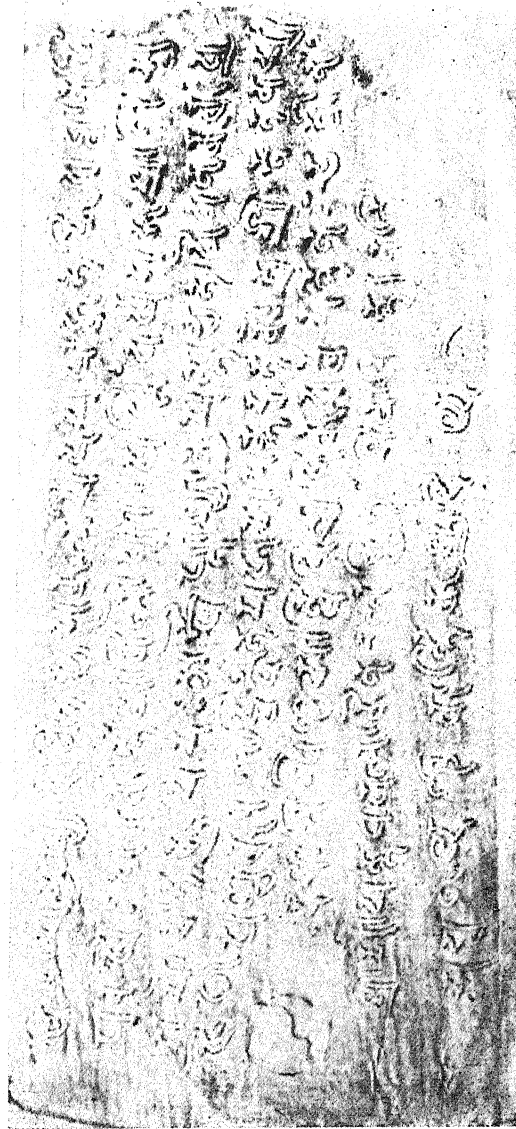




The Tekkali Plates of Śatrubhaṇḍa.

II Plate II side.





The Tekkali Plates of Śatrubhañja.

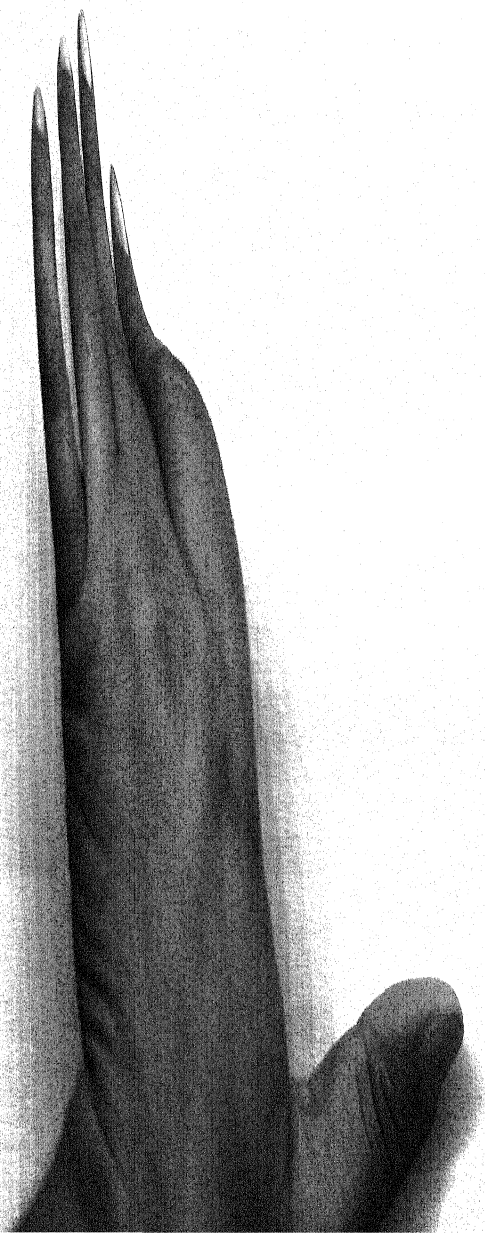
III Plate I side.

III.—‘Danta,’ a weapon.

In this volume of the Journal (p. 34) I expressed the opinion that *danta-koti* in the last verse of the *Mudrā-Rākshasa* meant a knife or a similar weapon in the double import when referring to Chandra Gupta II and his rescue of Dhruvā Devī. Professor Janārdana Miśra has traced out that *danta* was a regular weapon according to the *Dhyānas* and *Śilpasastras*. I would notice below the sculptural evidence on the point.

Gopinatha Rao in his *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, part 1, at p. 56 ff., has summarised the texts on Gaṇapati in his various aspects. *Danta*, *aṅkuṣa*, and *pāśa* are the weapons he holds in many forms. The representation of *danta* is to be found on plates X [*danta* in the front right hand, p. 63], XI, fig. 1 [A.D. 1446] holding *śūla*, *paraśu*, *danta* and *pāśa* as weapons (p. 64), XII, XIV [bronzes, p. 65], and XV [bronze, p. 66, 12th or 13th century]. It is always held in the first right hand. In the stone figure on plate X (1) and the bronze figure on plate XV (facing p. 58), it is a piercing weapon, straight and pointed, with a knob-handle with projections for the grip. In figure 2 on plate X and figure 2 on plate XV (ivories) the *danta* is a hooked, sharp-pointed weapon, with a knob-handle; it has the shape of a boar's tusk, but is more pointed. It is a small stabbing weapon; on plate XIII the offensive point-portion is fully covered in the grip. It was thus a short stab-instrument, with a round point, straight or curved.

K. P. J.



REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Publications of the Hindustānī Academy, U.P., Allahabad.

This Society, formed under the ægis of the Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, has published texts, original contributions, and translations. All the publications are in Hindī. I would like to draw the attention of scholars to some of its important published works.

1. **Ghāgh aur Bhaḍḍarī**, edited with translation in modern Hindī, by Pandit Ramanareśa Tripāthī. The verses of the two authors Ghāgh and Bhaḍḍarī on agriculture and kindred matters, e.g. the monsoon, embody the experience of ages in popular memorial verses. They are laboriously collected and very ably edited by Mr. Tripāthī. The editor has traced the home and descendants of Ghāgh, near Kanauj (Sarāy Ghāgh). Ghāgh was a Kanaujiyā Brahmin (Dube) and a contemporary of Akbar. Bhaḍḍarī belonged to Rajputana; his exact home is not known. Ghāgh was an acute observer. 323 verses of his are published and 81 of Bhaḍḍarī.

2. **Kavi-rahasya** : This is an excellent book, by Dr. Gangānath Jha. This is a manual of 105 pages, bringing into Hindī practically all the theories of Rājaśekhara, with a wealth of illustrations both from Sanskrit and Hindī, exhibiting an encyclopædic knowledge and at the same time a poetic temperament. The current Maithilā Kāvya literature, commencing from the 16th century, has a sweetness of its own, and from this the author has enriched his treatise with apt quotations. It is practically an original treatise.

3. **Arab aur Bhārata ke sambandha** [‘Intercourse between Arabia and India’] is a translation, in 330 pages of an original work in Urdū by a scholar (*Syed Sulaimān Nadbī*) who is regarded as the most learned Arabic scholar living in India. Maulānā Nadbī has collected in his Urdū lectures, delivered before the Academy, all the references to India and her civilization in Arab authors. He has offered some original views

on the identification of Arabic descriptions of Indian matters. His work is purely an Eastern production; the author has not repeated what European scholars have said on the subject.

4. Social and Economic Condition of Mediæval India :

A lecture on this subject by Mr. A. A. Yusuf Ali, has been rendered in Hindi (81 pages) and published by Dr. Tara Chand, Secretary to the Academy, who is the real life-force of this institution. Mr. Yusuf Ali has selected some dramas—the *Nāgānanda*, *Priya-darsikā*, *Ratnāvalī*, and *Karpūramañjarī*—and the prose works of Bāṇa, the Ajantā paintings, Yuan Chwang, Alberūnī, Elliot's History, and a few epigraphs, along with some minor works, as his materials. There is very little about economic conditions, but there is a lot about polite society, in the address. Justice is still to be done to the subject. Mr. Yusuf Ali has pointed out the right sources. The style of the original author is entertaining.

5. *Madhya-kālīna Bhāratiya saṁskṛiti*, by MM. Gaurī Śaṅkara Hīrāchand Ojhā, is a work on the civilization of Mediæval India in 194 pages, with illustrations on sculpture and architecture. It is a systematic treatise embodying a wide survey. Its style is real Hindi, as opposed to the transliterated style which prevails in Hindi where graduates make an artificial literal translation of technical English terms. Its subject-matter has received an original and thoughtful treatment. Practically no aspect of national life is left out; the author's knowledge of his sources is first-hand.

6. *Velī Krisana-Rukamañī-rī*, by Prathirāja Rāṭhaur, translated in M. Hindi prose by Maharajah Jagmangal Singh, with a commentary; 904 pages. It is a useful text, with exhaustive notes, for the study of the archaic language of Dīṅgal poetry which has been current in Rajputana for the last thousand years. The Rajput nobleman has laid philological students under an obligation by offering his commentary. It is still a living language in Rajputana, though limited to a small circle, while to the outsider it is difficult and strange.

The above notice will show the useful work being done, for which Dr. Tara Chand and the Academy are to be congratulated. [I have omitted works of minor importance.]

The Academy publishes also a Journal called *Hindustānī* where articles and studies on various literary and scientific subjects appear.

7. **Rock-cut Temples around Bombay**, by Mr. Kanhaiya Lal H. Vakil, B.A., LL.B., 'Art Critic, "the Bombay Chronicle,"' published by Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Pocket edition size, 160 pp. (5"×7"), 54 illustrations and 5 plans. Price, Rs. 3.

The author thinks that no one has as yet attempted the interpretation of Indian Art and Architecture. 'In fact, archaeological speculations and iconographic tabulations that constitute the bulk of the current literary discussions and expositions of Indian art have rendered the study and interpretation of painting, sculpture and architecture, practically superficial and insignificant, if not superfluous.' After reading this verdict one is tempted to ask 'Has this author read the books of Mr. Havell?' In the book there are vague expressions and vaguer photographs, which convey little of the art that moves the author's enthusiasm. There are more quotations than exposition. Words are so spelt that at times it is difficult to identify them, e.g. Kal Bhairav (p. 53). Opinions like '*The Indian sculptor touches with unfailing reverence... the "apsara"*' abound in the booklet. Whatever is new in the book is unacceptable.

8. **Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the year 1930**, published with the aid of the Government of Netherlands and with the support of the Imperial Government of India (148 pp., large size, 12"×9" with 6 plates), Leyden, 1932 (Kern Institute, Leyden).

This is the fifth issue of this Annual Bibliography issued by Dr. Vogel and a board of editors from the Kern Institute. The bibliography is arranged under different subject-headings and is as full as possible. It surveys publications in all European languages and in Hindi and Bengālī. It publishes also a few illustrations of rare and unpublished art pieces. Its illustrations are very well executed. This number gives some hitherto unpublished sculptures of Nāgārjunikoṇḍā and Sittanavāsai paintings. This last branch of work, though meritorious,

is to be avoided, as it changes the character of the publication from a digest to a journal. A bibliography like this supplies a standing need, yearly publications having grown to an unwieldy extent. It deserves the support of scholars. Scholars are invited to send in copies of their contributions.

9. **The Mahābhārata Text, Fasc. 6**, edited by Dr. V. S. Sukhthankar, Bhandarkar Institute, Poona. This part closes the Ādi Parvan. It keeps up the high standard which Dr. Sukhthankar set for it when he took over the editorial charge. The illustrations, though fairly good, are really not wanted, and the money might better be spent on the publication of the text itself which is a tremendous charge.

10. **Rise of the Christian Power in India**, 2nd edition, 977 pp., $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$, Index, pp. 987 to 1011, with 4 maps and 58 plates, by the late Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S., published by Mr. R. Chatterji, 120/2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, 1931. Price Rs. 25.

The author before his death had revised his work thoroughly; the present edition is the result of that revision. It is really the history of British India from the foundation of Calcutta up to the extinction of the East India Company, with an introduction (pp. 17-43) on the struggle of different Christian powers in India. Any text-book on recent or contemporary history will always be a subject of attack and defence. Capt. Cunningham who was on the General Staff in the Sikh War wrote a History of the Sikhs and dealt with the War. On a copy of his first edition which I possess there are bitter remarks in pencil by another officer who claims to derive his knowledge from some officers who had figured in the War and from his own experience. The late Mr. Govind Das of Benares once illustrated to me what history was [in his opinion] by calling two persons who had witnessed a quarrel and the consequential fight, to recapitulate the story; the witnesses who were quite disinterested gave differing versions as to the origin and the initial stage of the fight. I told my friend that the real historical part was the fact of the fight and its result. Major Basu selected a subject like the quarrel-story and the fight-problem of my late friend. There will be room for differing

versions, e.g. at p. 353 where Mill and Wilson differ on the Tanjore succession, though as to the result there cannot be much doubt on any event. Major Basu, however, nowhere allows a controversial point to pass undiscussed and faces his problems with confidence.

The book is a store-house of digested facts and is a monument of labour. It will always be found useful on its period, and is not likely to be superseded for its material and clearness. The book at the same time is an album of historical portraits which have been collected and selected with care and insight. The picture of Śivāji, from the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, is the finest. The publisher's work is of a standard rarely reached before in India.

11. Jainism in North India, 800 B.C. to A.D. 520, by Chiman Lal J. Shah, M.A., published by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. (1932), 262 pp., 11" × 7½", with 26 plates and two maps. Price, Rs. 28-14.

This work forms No. 6 of the series of the Indian Historical Research Institute started by the Rev. Father Heras. The book is by a Jaina gentleman who dates the history of Jainism from 800 B.C. and closes his period of study with the Council of Valabhi (526 A.D.). Territorially it is limited to Āryāvarta. The author in making his compilation has studied his authorities. But as a Jaina he has not added to our knowledge of the traditional lore of his religion which is more easily available to him than to outside scholars. We are not enlightened much on the doctrinal side of the religion from living sources. The *apsaras* figures on railing pillars opposite p. 256 are wrongly described as 'human figures'. No history of Jainism, to justify that title, should be without an account of the apostolic successions and a consideration of their chronology. Both of these the volume before us lacks. The author has directed his attention to archaeological results, which, of course, are useful to the members of his community who have little knowledge of those matters, buried as they are in technical journals. Reference to '*Rājarshi*' Devagupta in Jaina literature (p. 213) is an echo of the popular title of Chandragupta II which we find at Sanchi inscribed in his lifetime.

12. **The Pallava Genealogy**, by Rev. H. Heras, S.J., Bombay, Indian Historical Research Institute, 1931.

This is No. 7 of the Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Father Heras has, on the basis of the Pallava inscriptions, attempted to unify the Pallava pedigrees appearing in the inscriptions in a bewildering variety. He has prepared a long chart where he has arranged the names under 45 columns headed by 45 inscriptions individually, and has discussed his identifications in 27 pages (small size). He has prepared a genealogy of 24 descendants from Kālabhartṛi to Vijaya Nripatuṅga-varman (chart No. 2). It must be admitted at once that this is a great improvement on all previous attempts, though we have not yet reached the final solution.

Regarding the early kings, there should not be much difficulty, as we have for almost every second generation a contemporary record, and in almost every one of them four previous generations are enumerated as a system. I have constructed the chronology and genealogy of the first seven Pallava rulers in my '*History of India, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*' (under publication), and I have arrived at the same conclusion as Father Heras on the point that the Pallava seat was at first in Andhra-deśa. This capital was *Daśanapura* which might have been the same as the *Dantapura* of the Buddhist books. Father Heras has also drawn the right conclusion that the Pallavas reigned only in one line. I, however, disagree with the author on the order and existence of three early ancestors of the Pallavas whom Father Heras has given as

1. Kālabhartṛi (=Bappa).
2. Chūta Pallava (=Droṇa).
3. Virakūrcha (=Aśvatthāman).

His No. 4 and 5 are

4. Skandaśishya (=Skandavarman).
5. Śivaskandavarman (of E.I., i., p. 1).

Thus he places three names of rulers between Bappa and Śivaskandavarman. But it is certain that 'Bappa' was the immediate predecessor of Śivaskanda. This is proved by the E.I., i, p. 1, which is the second earliest inscription of the family.

The donees of Śivaskandavarman are the same to whom Mahārāja 'Bappa' had given the estate (p. 8) and whose names are fully set out. 'By us also the formerly-given..... has been granted to the above-mentioned Brāhmins, chief among whom is Ajisamaja.....' The same donees could not have been alive if Śivaskanda was the fifth from Bappa, as Rev. Heras would make him. The two names of *Droṇa* and *Aśvatthāman* are the names of the early ancestors of the Pallavas who were Bhāradvāja Brahmins. *Droṇa* and *Aśvatthāman* are the heroes of the Mahābhārata, and not third century kings. They were Bhāradvājas and as such early ancestors of the Pallavas. There is no room between Bappa and Śivaskanda for a *Skandaśishya-Skandavarman*. The *Skandaśishya* of the Rayakoṭa inscription is identical with *Śiva Skanda* where *Śiva* is only honorific as in the Chuṭu inscriptions. The Rayakoṭa plate does not say that *Skandaśishya* was the son of *Aśvatthāman*. He is only described as the son of a Nāga lady. The *Skandaśishya* of the S.I.I., ii. 501, is Skandavarman II, which is clear from the names of his son and grandson; he is really identical with Vijaya Skandavarman. These three early names therefore have to go out of the list. I regard *Vīra Kūrcha* as the name of 'Bappa' (which means 'father'). Probably *Kūrcha* ('twigs') is a translation of 'Pallava' which (latter) is found as early as the first inscription of Śiva Skandavarman (E. I., VI., 84). The name *Vīra* is repeated in that of the son of Śiva Skanda (*Vīravarman*), in accordance with the early custom. The unpublished *Chūrā* and *Guntur* plates, taken by Father Heras as two documents, are really one and the same, a fact which I have verified and ascertained from the Government of India Epigraphist.¹ The appearance of the word *Vishṇu* with the names has nothing to do with their religion which was Śaivism; it is a repetition of the name of the *Vishṇu vriddha* ('*Vishṇu the elder*') who was one of the early Bhāradvājas.

K. P. J.

¹ I have to thank Mr. Dikshit for his courtesy in the matter.

A30



27
28

GENERAL INDEX TO J.B.O.R.S., VOLUME XVIII.

A

	PAGE
A correct chronology of Delhi History, 1739-1754 ..	80
A note on ' Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna ' ..	45
A note on certain Sanskrit Geographical and Ethnic terms ..	97
A note on 'Tikina' and 'Khasa'	225
A passage in Samudra Gupta's Inscription at Allahabad and Gupta Coinage	207
A study of Ancient Indian Numismatics	100
Abbreviation of authorities quoted	95
Accounts, Statement of, from April 1931 to February 1932 of B.O.R.S.	113
Actuals up to February 29th, 1932	114
Amba Kapi and Sir Kap Tradition	10
Ancient Indian Numismatics, a study of	100
Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Kavarnnadeva, Chicacole plates of	272
Annual Report for 1931-32 of the B.O.R.S.	110
Annual Account, 1931-32	242
An Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur District ..	214
Anthropological Work, Report of, in 1930-31	51
Arab Authority on the cessation of Kadphise's rule ..	12
Arab narration and Vikramāditya's Mantrin ..	21
Articles, Leading	1, 117, 255

B

Battle of 78 A.D.	9
Bhārata-Bhūmi aur uske Nivāsi (India and her Inhabitants)	99
Bhinmāls, the Paramāras of	40
Bhūiyās and Chūṭiyās of Chōṭā-Nāgpur	51, 66
Books, Reviews and Notices of	99, 235, 393

C

Certain Sanskrit Geographical and Ethnic terms, a note on	97
Chandra-Gupta II (Vikramāditya) and his Predecessor ..	17
Chandra-Gupta II, Śikhara Prime Minister of, His book on Political Science	37
Chandra-Gupta Maurya as Vir Varshal	79

	PAGE
Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-	
Kāvārṇadeva	272
Chōṭā-Nāgpur, the Chūṭiyās and the Bhūiyās	51, 66
Chōṭā-Nāgpur, Chūṭiyā-Nāgpur and Nāgpur	53
Chūṭiyā-Nāgpur, Chōṭā-Nāgpur and Nāgpur	53
Chūṭiyās, Bhūiyās and Chōṭā-Nāgpur	51, 66
Conclusion	325
Contributions, Miscellaneous	79, 225, 383
Correct Chronology of Delhi History, 1739-1754	80
Corroboration of the Devī Chandraguptam	17

D

'Danta', a weapon	391
Date of Śākādhīpati War	30
Dates Disputed, evidence for settling them	91
Delhi History, a correct Chronology of, 1739-1754	80
Devanāgarī Alphabet, transliteration of	115, 243
Devī-Chandraguptam, Corroboration of	17
Dhruva-Devī	26
Dhruva-Devī, Remarriage of	27
Disaster place of Rāma Gupta	28

E

Empire, Harṣa's, on the extent of	296
Evidence for settling the disputed Dates	91

F

Folk-lore, the study of, and tradition in India	353
Forms of Gupta Names	30

G

Giridharpur Pillar Inscription	4
Gupta Inscriptions	23
Gupta names, forms of	30

H

Hāl (Hāla Sātavāhana)	14
Harṣa's Empire, on the extent of	296
Harṣa and the far South	329
History of Orissa	101
Honorary Members of B. and O.R.S.	344

I

	PAGE
Identification and succession of Rāma Gupta	24
Identification of the King	201
Inscription Giridharpur Pillar	4
Inscriptions, Gupta	23
Inscriptions, Old Muslim at Patna, a note on	45

J

Jayadratha's Queen, her rule in Sindh	13
---	----

K

Kadphise's rule, Arab Authority on its cessation	12
Kafanda, King (i.e. Kaphs, Kapa, Kadphises)	14
Kāka's—their location	212
Kaparda and Vedic Opaśa	1
Kashmirian rule in Sindh	14
King Kafanda	14
King, his identification	201
Kushāna, last, Emperor in India, and the Yaunas of the Purāṇas	201

L

Leading Articles	1, 117, 255
Life Members of B. and O.R.S.	245
List of Members of B. and O.R.S. on 31st December, 1931 ..	244

M

Mahābhārata—Southern Recension	99
Mahenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization	235
Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasād Śāstri, C.I.E.	226
Mambarus	8
Meeting, Proceedings of, held on 6th December, 1931	104
Meeting, Proceedings of, held on 6th March, 1932	106
Meeting, Proceedings of, held on 24th April, 1932	240
Meeting, Annual, Proceedings of, held on 17th March, 1932 ..	108
Members' List	244
Members, Honorary	244
Members, Life	245
Members, Ordinary	246—254
Miharauli Iron Pillar	31
Mīmāṃsā-Śāstra-Sarvasva	129—200

	PAGE
Mir Qasim at Patna, 1761	332
Miscellaneous Contributions	79, 225, 383
Muslim Inscriptions, Old, at Patna, a note on	45

N

Nāgpur, Chōṭā-Nāgpur, and Chūṭiyā-Nāgpur	53
Nanda Devi, Skirts of	117, 255
Nanda Devi Massif	117
Notes of the Quarter	104, 240
Note on the Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur District	222
Note on 'Tikina' and 'Khasa'	225
Note on the Puri Plates of Dharmarāja	383
Notices and Reviews of Books	99, 235, 393

O

Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna, a note on	45
On the extent of Harṣa's Empire	296
Opāśa, Vedic, and Kaparda	1
Ordinary Members of B. and O.R.S.	246—254
Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur District	214
Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur District, note on	222

P

Patna, a note on Old Muslim Inscriptions at	45
Patna, Mir Qāsim at, 1761	332
Persian Invasion of India and Sunagh dynasty	14
Pindari Glacier and Phurkiyā	263
Plates, Puri, of Dharmarāja, note on	383
Plates, Tekkali, of Śatrubhañja—V.S. 800	387
Predecessor and Chandra-Gupta II (Vikramāditya)	17
Prime Minister of Chandra-Gupta II, Śikhara, his book on Political Science	37
Problems, Śaka Śātavāhana	7
Proceedings of Ordinary Meeting held on 6th December, 1931	104
„ „ „ 6th March, 1932	106
„ „ „ 24th April, 1932	240
Proceedings of Annual General Meeting held on 17th March, 1932	108
Phurkiyā, route to	255
Phurkiyā and Pindari Glacier	263
Puri Plates of Dharmarāja, note on	383

Q

	PAGE
Quarter, Notes of the	104, 240

R

Rāma Gupta, identification and succession of	24
Rāma Gupta's disaster place	28
Remarraige of Dhruva-Devi	27
Report of Anthropological Work in 1930-31	51
Report, Annual, for 1931-32 of the B. and O.R.S.	110
Reviews and Notices of Books	99, 235, 393
Rule of Jayadratha's Queen in Sindh	13

S

Śaka-Sātavāhana Problems	7
Śaka-pati	29
Śakādhpati War, Date of	30
Sambalpur District, an Oriya Copperplate of	214
Sambalpur District, an Oriya Copperplate, Note on	222
Samudra Gupta's Inscription at Allahabad and Gupta Coinage	207
Sandanes	7
Śikhara, Prime Minister of Chandra-Gupta II, his book on Political Science	37
Sindh, Rule of Jayadratha's Queen	13
Sindh, Kashmirian Rule in	14
Sir Kap and Amba Kapi Tradition	10
Skirts of Nanda Devi	117, 255
Statement of Accounts from April, 1931 to February, 1932 of the B. and O.R.S.	113
Study of Folk-lore and Tradition in India	353
Succession and identification of Rāma Gupta	24
Sunagh (Śīsunāka) Dynasty and the Persian Invasion of India	14

T

Tekkali Plates of Śatrubhañja—V.S. 800	387
Text of Giridharpur Pillar Inscription	6
The Book on Political Science by Śikhara	37
The Paramāras of Bhinmal	40
The Mahābhārata—Southern Recension	99
The Skirts of Nanda Devi	117, 255
The Yaunas of the Purāṇas	201

	PAGE
The Kākas—their Location	212
The Route to Phurkiya	255
The Study of Folk-lore and Tradition in India	353
The Tekkali Plates of Śatrubhañja—V.S. 800	387
Tradition, Sir Kap and Amba Kapi	10
Transliteration of the Devanāgarī Alphabet	115, 243

V

Vedic Opaśa and Kaparda	1
Vikramāditya's Mantrin and the Arab Narration	21
'Vir Varshal,' Chandra-Gupta Maurya as	79
Viśākhadatta	33

W

War, Śakādhipati, Date of	30
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Y

Yaunas of the Purāṇas and the Last Kushāṇa Emperor in India	201
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